C H A P T E R   II

PREVIOUS STUDIES IN ACHIEVEMENT

MOTIVATION

"The seeds of great discoveries are constantly

around us, but they only take rest in minds well-prepared

to receive them".

— WALTER B. CANNON.

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MOTIVATION

I. INTRODUCTION

The field of research in achievement motivation
is of recent origin comparatively as the researches in
psychology are taking place since decades. McClelland's
contribution in the field of achievement motivation affect-
ed - business, industry and recently education.

The experiments of Alfred Alschuler, Diano Tabor
and James MacIntyre (1971) did show that raising achieve-
ment motivation level help pupils' performance. At the
same time, the recent experiments of Udai Pareek, Prayag
Mehta, Dave and Desai, have broken new grounds which
apply to the development of achievement motivation, study-
ing its effects on pupils' concern for excellence. The
recent researches of Richard Carney (1971) in risk-taking
behaviour; Jack Frymier (1970) on pupils' motivation
towards school; Birney (1969) on fear of failure; Heinz
Heckhausen (1967) on hope of success; Lawrence Littig
(1968d) on occupational aspirations; shows new trends

and directions, and offer new challenges and opportunities in this area. It will be quite interesting to have a bird's eye view on the research field of achievement motivation.

Research attempts in achievement motivation development started in India with the first pioneering attempt of Prof. McClelland in 1963. Thirtyfour businessmen from Bombay attended training courses. The effect of the training was definitely contributive to the progress of businessmen. Then followed Prayag Mehta's research at NCERT (1966) and Desai's research at Vallabh Vidyanagar (1969, 1970, 1971, 1972).

The present chapter is primarily devoted to provide a review of the tests which have been constructed by different investigators to measure human motives, particularly the need of achievement (n Ach.).

The foregoing review will reveal the significance of certain personal, motivational and non-intellectual correlations of scholastic achievement, general concern for one self and the country, occupational aspirations, achievement motivation, economic status, etc. have all been found to be intimately associated with success or failure in academic achievement.

The present research is planned for a similar

purpose to study the relation of such psychological and personality factors of academic achievement on a sample of 600 college boys and girls of Meghalaya(Shillong).

S E C T I O N   A

STUDIES   IN   ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

II. METHOD OF MEASUREMENT OF n Ach.

The first major work on measuring human motives, particularly the need for achievement (n Ach.) was done by McClelland (1948) and his co-workers. McClelland and Friedman (1952) established that the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) was the most reliable single instrument for the measurement of n Ach. levels. This method of measurement has been used by many researchers, which has emphasised the works of Atkinson (1958, 1964), McClelland (1961,1965), McClelland, Atkinson and others (1953), McClelland, Rindlishbacher and DeCharms (1955) and others.

Besides TAT techniques, French (1955) Test of Insight (FTI), Edwards (1954) Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), California Psychological Inventory (CPI) by Gough(1957), Questionnaire Schedule,by Alport and Haber's (1960) Achievement Anxiety Test (AAT), Carney's (1964, 1965) Questionnaire Index (Achievement Orientation) McClelland Achievement Motivation Test (MAMT), etc. have been used to determine the motivation level.

The TAT type of n Ach. measure was strongly
recommended by McClelland (1958 - cf. Atkinson, 1966) on
the ground that it has validity, flexibility and generality.
Other measures were developed mostly for the sake of better
objectivity and expectancy in scoring. However, TAT type of
measurement still dominates the science and most of the
other scales validate their efficacy with reference to such
measure. Research study in this area, mostly, therefore,
explore either the desirability of using other methods of
assessing n Ach. or find relationships between different
types of n Ach. measures.

Block (1964) while investigating correlates of a
projective measure of n Ach. with a sample of physically
disabled, questions the contention that projective
technique in social and industrial research is useful since
it is not threatening to the subjects. He found some Ss
experiencing high anxiety and felt threatened at the time
of taking projective tests.

Morrison (1964) concluded in his study that
measurement of n Ach. by Sentence Completion Test (SCT)
is not much feasible. He measured n Ach. by sentence
completion items, and correlated the scores with indica-
tions of n Ach. obtained through TAT's and found only a
correlation of 0.3 between the two.

Regarding the relationship between various measures of n Ach. there is enough evidence to support McClelland's contention that:

> The three methods of measuring human motivation (i.e. direct observation, self-rating and projective methods) yield essentially uncorrelated results and it would, therefore, seem wise for research workers to employ terminology which will communicate immediately which method of measurement they are using. (McClelland cf. Atkinson, 1966, p. 41)

Weinstein (1969) showed that several indices of n Ach. do not measure the same thing and hence must not be used interchangeably.

Murstein (1963) in one of his studies noted that medium achievement structured thematic cards were most differentiating and the a study of Caplehorn and Sutton (1965) suggested that pictures of different achievement cues intensity, may measure different values. They showed that out of McClelland's four pictures, the two with the smallest number of achievement cues, gave scores positively correlated with examination grades, while the scores on the other two did not.

Several other studies have been conducted to study the factors affecting Thematic Apperceptions and specially achievement imageries.

McClelland and Atkinson, et al. (1953),

Atkinson (1958), and Veroff (1961) have pointed out the effect of cultural and situational factors in thematic apperception. Mehta (1969) has also found different cue values for different pictures in his study with Indian pupils.

In a TAT type picture containing a child and a parent figure, facing vs. inverted position of the child vis-a-vis the parent figure was found to be influencing the achievement imagery in a study by Alper and Greenberger (1967) who noted that under both task and achievement oriented conditions, achievement imagery was significantly more evoked by 'facing' than by 'inverted' pictures, this effect remains true irrespective of the sex of the parent figure.

Reiter (1962) did not find any substantial inter-correlation between the three measures of n Ach. viz. n Ach. scale of EPPS, achievement imagery scale of IOWA picture interpretation test and the achievement scale of the Page Fantasy scale.

Studying intercorrelations between the measures of n Ach. on TAT, EPPS, SCT and self-rating scale, Pandey (1972) found SCT and EPPS, and TAT and SCT, having signi-ficant correlations but they were not high enough to justify the conclusion that they are the equivalent

measures of n Ach.

Still others, Irwin (1967), Mukerjee (1968) and
Dunham (1972) choose to use Sentence Completion Test (SCT)
with items similar to those used by Peek and McGuire (1959).
Mukherjee (1972) held the view that self-reporting measures
which have been claimed in the past as measures of achieve-
ment motive reflect very little of the dimension covered
by n Ach. measures.

Moreover, it has been shown by McClelland,
Atkinson and et al. (1953) that the discriminative power
of the TAT method is best under neutral test conditions and
with pictures of moderate achievement cue value. This shows
that different pictures have different achievement cue
values, some may be weak and some may be strong.

Orso (1969) found female n Ach. scores increasing
significantly after affiliation arousal and decreasing
significantly after achievement arousal conditions.
However, no such effect was found with male Ss.

Validation studies were carried out for a measure
of achievement motivation. Achievement orientation which
was derived from the California Psychological Inventory.
Two major factors are found and scales derived from these
factors are found as achievement oriented (AO) and social
oriented (SO). The results for changes in AO scoring

Under AI and task instruction, parallels the findings by
McClelland, et al. (1949). Specific achievement arousal
effects are obtainable in the face of much variation in
extraneous conditions. The magnitude of the experiment
effect on AO is small compared to that obtained with the
TAT, since TAT is much more sensitive to situational
variables. (Carney, Mann and McCormick, 1966).

Carney (1966) in the study "The effect of
situational variables on the measurement of achievement
motivation" found that there was no relationship between
objective and projective measures of achievement
motivation.

Pandharipande (1972), in his study 'Interrelation-
ships among four measures of achievement motivation' found
that the significant but low positive correlation between
TAT (Thematic Apperception Test) and SCT (forced choice
test of achievement motivation) suggests that though they
may not be measuring a general achievement motive they may
be measuring either different aspects of the same motive
state that are associated with achievement motivation.

It was concluded that SCT and EPPS, and TAT and
SCT significantly correlate with each other, but the 'r'
is not high enough to justify the conclusion that they are
the equivalent measures of achievement motivation.

Angeline (1966-68) studying the "measuring the achievement motive in Brazil" found that it confirmed the hypothesis that the projective method of measuring achievement motivation, yielded results similar to those obtained in the United States. A new finding of this study was that achievement imagery can be increased by experimentally manipulated success and failure in women. It may also be taken as a suggestion that there is no difference in the average need achievement score of Brazilian and United States male university students.

The study by William, Jones and Trembly (1959), showed that the non-intellective factor of freedom from neurotic behaviour patterns was most predictive of success for both sexes and in the instance of women, the factors of self-reliance and positive affect, also showed moderate in the criterion variable. In view of the number of identified dimensions it would seem that the nature of motivation of college students as measured is highly complex.

DeCharms and Virginia Carpenter attempted to discover whether certain aspects of motivation can be measured in a population of culturally disadvantaged children and whether some of the motivational concepts akin to powerlessness can be used.

Probably the most interesting result of this

10   study is the evidence that the thought sample measure are more effective with boys than girls, with the questionnaire measure the reverse is true.

During the past one decade several Indian studies of various motivational variables have been reported. These studies have used different methods of assessment. Mukherjee (1966) has prepared a Sentence Completion Test (SCT) consisting of 50 forced choice trials. This has been used in several studies, e.g., Mukherjee (1968), De and Klan (1969), Gokulnathan (1970? De and Priya (1972), - Jawa (1972) and Lahiri (1969). These studies have sought to measure achievement, anxiety and risk taking. Some other studies like Bhatnagar (1966), Basumallik and Banerjee (1967), have used Edwards' Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS). They have tried to relate the results to sex, culture, and risk taking. Dhariwal (1971) used EPPS for assessing achievement motive as a non-intellectual predictor of scholastic attainment. Pandey and Singh (1971) have used the Bendig's achievement motive scale to study the relationship of achievement motivation with religious beliefs and practices. Bendig's achievement motivation questionnaire consists of twenty items, right of the items of the scale measure what Bendig (1964) calls Personal Need Achievement (PNA) and the remaining twelve items are supposed to reflect one's social need achievement (SNA). The reliability of PNA and SNA scales were found to be

approximately .61 and .67. Several other studies have used a semi-projective TAT type technique.

McClelland (1961) argued that the achievement motive like other forms of human motivation, can best be studied in the realm of fantasy. Freud believed that basic motivations are revealed in fantasy in day-dreams and night-dreams. Projective tests also, such as Murray's TAT and the Rorschach, depend upon imaginative content.

McClelland and his associates (1953) adapted Murray's TAT technique (1938) for the measurement of human motivation. In this technique certain pictures are used to obtain stories from the subjects for analysis of their motivation. Stories obtained for the purpose of measurement of achievement motivation are scored in a particular way, following a scoring system developed by McClelland and his associates (1953). This has been presented in a manual form by Feld and Smith (1958).

On the lines of McClelland's work, Mehta (1969) developed a test of achievement motivation specifically for use with children. Six pictures were selected on the basis of their discrimination, power, evokability of achievement imagery, correlations with school marks and inter-scorer reliability. The test-retest reliability of this set of pictures after an interval of four months was

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found to be .56 (N = 22) in one case, and .73 (N = 24) in another. In a latter replication Chaudhary (1972) found a test-retest reliability of .70 (N = 100) after an interval of one month and a split-half reliability of .54 (N = 300) Haber and Alpert (1958) obtained correlations ranging from .36 to .59 after an interval of three weeks, Feld (1960) obtained a test-retest reliability of .38 after an interval of six years and Atkinson (1956) reported a split-half reliability of .64 uncorrected. The obtained reliability of the Indian set of pictures therefore compared very well with other similar results.

Theoretically as proposed by Atkinson and Litwin (1960), Ss classified high on n Achievement and low on motive to avoid failure are likely to show greater performance at a competitive task than those low on one and high on the second. Such a conception was confirmed by results obtained on TAT and the AVAI (Mehta, 1969). This provided some theoretical validation for the TAT measure.

Chaudhary (1972) checked its construct validity against a measure of persistance. She found that Ss classified as high on n Achievement persisted more on the task than those classified as low.

Pandharipande (1972) again checked the validity of Mehta's TAT and the EPPS against teacher's assessment. The TAT and EPPS were administered to 5 top and 5 low
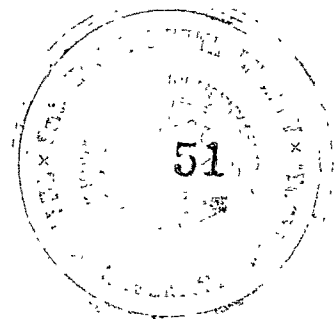
n Ach. students. The CR was found to be significant for
TAT but not for EPPS.

Studies suggested that the TAT type instrument
developed specifically for use with Indian Ss possess good
reliability and validity. However, it should be pointed
out that it is not a psychometric tool. It does not
suggest any norms, for revaluation and comparison. It has
been developed mainly for research purposes and has been
widely used in the country.

The scoring system provides for eleven scores
on each story thus yielding a maximum 66 scores for a set
of six stories. It can yield a score of -6, -1 for each
unrelated story. All stories could be scored as unrelat-
ed depending upon the nature of imagery it contains.
The Delhi school children showed a mean n achievement
score of 7.14. The data (TAT stories) were collected
in 1964 (Mehta, 1969). The other comparable results
obtained on similar samples of school children in Assam
were 4.48 (Gokulnathan and Mehta, 1972), 6.6 in
Gujarat (Desai, 1970), 7.56 in Punjab (Chaudhary,
1972). Mohta (1973) obtained a mean of 4.76 for

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college students in Rajasthan. The results may be
suggestive of achievement climates prevailing in the
respective states.

III. BASIC NATURE OF n Ach.

McClelland (1958) uses the term n Ach. to
describe a measure of achievement motivation derived from
content analysis of fantasy and n Achievement to
describe self-ratings of motivation and finds them
measuring uncorrelated things. McClelland (1951) produc-
ed a number of arguments rooted in accepted principles
of learning to support the view, advanced chiefly in
psychoanalytic writings, that motives are developed
early in childhood and become relatively stable attribut-
es of personality which are highly resistant to change.
He assumed that the motives of an individual are
relatively stable disposition which he carries about
with him from situation to situation.

This assumption of McClelland's was later
reinforced by Feld (1967) who observed a moderate
stability in gross n Ach. Level from childhood to
adolescence.

Kahl (1965) comparing the interrelated studies of achievement orientation, found that the orientation consists of at least four separate components: "Achievement or mastery," "trust", "independence of family" and "occupational primacy", or "accomplishment". (J. A. Kahl, 1965, pp. 669-681).

The first three were found to be positively correlated with one another and with socio-economic status. The fourth was found to be negatively correlated with others and with socio-economic status. Interpreting the findings in the light of theoretical problems about achievement orientation, social mobility and economic development, Kahl hypothesised that n Ach. is distinct from occupational achievement values have a conscious belief system.

Scanzoni (1967) tested the hypothesis of Kahl by examining the relationships between the kind of child-rearing practice which promote n Ach. (as claimed by McClelland) and occupational achievement values, and found no significant relationships between the two. This suggests that Kahl's hypothesis have a certain amount

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of validity.

Holmes and Tyler (1968) tested the projective validity of three techniques of measuring n Ach. viz. TAT projection cards, self-report on a rating scale and two self-peer rating measures (here each subject listed 10 of his friends and then rated himself in relation to each friends on two criterion measures: class grades and two short laboratory tasks). Both the self-peer rating scores were significantly correlated with grades. Holmes and Tyler concluded on the basis of these results that n·Ach. is a conscious phenomena and subject to direct self-report if the means of responding is made specific.

Shreble and Stewart (1967) proved AI, TI and UI responses non-monotonic. Traditionally Achievement Imagery (AI), Task Imagery (TI) and Unrelated Imagery (UI) responses have been scored as monotonic though they form a continuum into AI indicating the highest achievement motivation and UI the lowest. They examined certain scoring procedures of the McClelland and Atkinson projective measure of n Ach. and found that the three responses are non-monotonic, on certain personality variables. Ss responding predominantly with AI were similar to those with UI responses. Both AI and UI Ss were significantly different from those responding

predominantly with TI.

Later, Morsback (1969) studied 247 African speak-
ing whites and 199 English speaking whites in South Africa
for n Ach. and for achievement values. It was found that
African speaking Ss were significantly higher regarding
achievement values, whereas, English speaking Ss were
significantly higher in n Ach., and within each group the
two measures did not correlate significantly. This finding
supported McClelland's (1951) hypothesis that the n Ach.
and achievement values are two different uncorrelated
things.

Carney (1966) in the study of "the effect of
situational variables on the measurement of achievement
motivation", found that there is no relationship between
objective and projective measures of achievement motiva-
tion. Projective and objective techniques can measure the
same motive under the proper conditions. A promising
approach should be to employ both objective and projective
techniques and to let the relationship between these
measures be diagnostic of the effectiveness and meaning of
responses in the total testing situation. (Fiske, 1963)

Hayashi, T., Matsuki, O. and Habu, K. studied
"Childern's Achievement Motivation and its Relation to
Intelligence, School Achievements, Anxiety tendencies and
Parent-Child Relations". The results reported indicate

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that the mean I.Q. did not differ between HA and LA groups. There was no significant differences between these two groups, in the ability and achievement motivation, As a general trend the female group showed higher anxiety level than the male group.

The relation between achievement motivation and parent-child relation at home showed that there was no significant difference between HA and LA groups, but it was clearly recognized that mothers demanded their children's independent attitude more strongly from male than from female children.

Tomotsu Hayashi's and Karon Habu's (1962) study on "an experimental test of the thought sampling method by using Japanese students" found that there is no significant difference between the sexes but that there are significant differences both in experimental situation and in experiences. The 'thought sampling' technique proved to be a fairly appropriate method to measure achievement motivation. Achievement motivation became higher as the degree to subject's ego-involvement in the task became greater. In the situation under which success or failure experience was given, achievement

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motivation became higher than in that situation where neither success nor failure experience was given, in the case of success experience the highest n achievement was obtained.

The results of Angelini's study (1966-68) on measuring the achievement motive in Brazil confirmed the hypothesis that the projective method of measuring achievement motivation yielded results similar to those obtained in the United States. Brazilian students' experiences of success and failure has similar effects on their achievement imagery, when it is defined in terms of competition with a standard of excellence.

A new finding of this study is that achievement imagery can be increased by experimentally manipulated success and failure in women.

There is a small insignificant difference between the means of Brazilian and American students. This finding may be taken as a suggestion that there is no difference in the average need achievement score of Brazilian and United States male university students.

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Schneider, K. studied the relationship between estimated probabilities and achievement motivation. There were two conditions, a success and a failure condition. It was found that (i) HS is positively related to the amount of typical revision in both conditions. FF is negatively related to revision scores in both conditions, but the relation is not statistically significant. (ii) Success oriented students have experienced more successes with tasks of high and medium difficulty in their past than failure oriented students.

Robinson (1964), in his study, 'The achievement motive, academic success and intelligence test scores' found that the mean I.Q.'s of the two groups did not differ and neither did the school class index obtained from father's occupation. The correlation between intelligence test scores and n Ach. drops to an insignificant value when grammar school entry is partialled out, but between grammar school entry and n Ach. remains significant. The common variance in the n Ach. and intelligence test scores appears to be the result of the success associated with both. The evidence supports the original hypothesis that n Ach. scores are associated with the index of success selected and a positive correlation between n Ach. scores and intelligence test scores, is shown to disappear when

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the variable of success is partialled out.

Argyle and Robinson (1962) found from their study 'Two Origins of Achievement Motivation' that achievement motivation as measured by projective test, was correlated with reported strength of parental achievement demands. The fear of failure component also correlated with reported super-ego demands for achievement.

Achievement motivation measured by questionnaire was found to be correlated with the reported achievement tendencies of the same sexed parents, and with identification with parents. Both processes were dependent on their being sufficient identification with parents.

Achievement motivation correlated with measures of guilt and self-aggression, since the latter also correlated with low self-ratings of achievement it was suggested that the guilt is produced by high motivation and low achievement in this sphere.

Eric Klinger (1966), on "Fantasy need-achievement as a motivational Construct", studies were conducted, which resulted in sufficient evidences in the relationship between n Ach. and performance. It also appears that achievement motivation influences fantasy. But it requires application of broad principles of fantasy determination as well as motivational theory, to explain the relationship between fantasy and motivation in terms of separate

2   principles governing each.

Atkinson and Feather (1966) on the basic concepts "Restatement and implications" found that the implication of the theory provides the foundation for a hypothesis. Secondly, the implication is based on the conception of the tendency to avoid failure. Thirdly, the implications about the changes in motivation brought about by success and failure.

The hypothesis suggested for further research is the notion that under conditions of very intense positive motivation, a strong tendency to avoid failure may actually ehhance rather than hinder the efficiency of performance.

Atkinson (1969) on change of activity, a new focus for the theory of motivation, concludes that the potential integrating function of change of activity which identifies the motivational properties of the several major classes of determinants in the relatively sub-fields of psychology. The impact on behaviour of the immediate environment, the stimulus situation which has been a central interest of the experimentalist, is represented in the concept of the instigating forces of the stimulus. The concept of inertial tendency is the foundation stone toward a theory of an active individual.

McKeachie's (1961) study of academic achievement

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provides an excellent example of the spirit in which one should study n Ach. in the classroom. His result suggests that n Ach. affect academic achievement most in the low achievement cue classroom, with considerable complexity introduced by teacher differences.

Prof. Marvin Brown presents experimental studies in his paper - "Determinants of persistance and initiation of achievement related activities. The result of this study shows that persistance of achievement related activity is determined both by the outcome of that activity and by the nature of the subsequent activity.

Prof. Stuarf A. Karabenick (1972) has presented 'the valence of success and failure as a function of achievement motives and locus of control'. The author came to the conclusion that persons with relatively high internal control beliefs generated steeper slopes than persons with relatively low internal control beliefs.

Prof. Eric Klinger's work on fantasy is strikingly remarkable in the area of achievement motivation. In his paper on Fantasy need Achievement and performance - a role analysis. The author came to the conclusion that social class is clearly associated with n Ach. scores. Social class status is widely shown to affect achievement values - and performance.

IV. FAMILY INFLUENCES AND n Ach.

Research studies in this area extended to the investigation of the effects of factors like birth order of the child, size of the family, child rearing practices, training for independence and achievement, physical and psychological conditions, and socio-economic status of the family on n Ach. of the individuals.

IV.1 Birth Order and n Ach.

Research studies aimed at finding out relationship between n Ach. and birth order have not reached yet to any final generalization.

Sampson (1962), Bartlett and Smith (1966), Angelini . .. (1967), Sinha (1967) and Sampson and Hanock (1967), have found in their studies that first borns are higher in n Ach. than latter borns. Studies conducted by Wolken and Levinger (1965), Mukherjee (1968), and Rosenblum and Haarman (1970), however, reveal a zero order relationship between these two variables. There are studies like, Rosenfeld (1966), and Farley (1967) in which the relationship found was negative in nature.

These conflicting results lead one to believe that many other factors must be mediating between the two variables.

Rosenfeld's tests of the hypothesis that first borns are higher in n Ach. than latter borns, generally yielded negative results but revealed complex interaction between sex, ordinal position and stimulus items of the TAT pictures. In Mukherjee's (1968) study although no significant relationship was found between birth order and verbalized need achievement (V. Ach.) it was indicated that the middle class first borns had a significantly higher average of V. Ach. scores than latter borns. The relationship was opposite for the upper class and no relationship was found between the lower class first borns and latter borns. Thus, in this study ordinal position and economic classes seem to be the joint determinants of verbalized n Ach. (V. Ach.).

Hence, at least two factors, sex and economic conditions, seem to mediate the relationship between n Ach. and birth order.

IV.2 Effect of Early Independence Training

The initial investigation in this area were conducted by McClelland and Friedman (1952) who found significant positive correlation between n Ach. scores obtained from the folk tale of eight American Indian tribes and the measure of strength and earlier independence training in those cultures.

Winterbottom (1953) further investigated this

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relationship with an American community and concluded that the early training in independence and mastery contributes to the development of strong achievement motivation.

Garza (1969) after interviewing Negro and white mothers of boys studying in V grade found that the training for achievement is related to the child's level of n Ach.

Child, Storm and Veroff (1958) could not agree with the conclusion of the McClelland and Friedman (1952), however, the following conclusions were drawn from the findings:-

1. n Ach. scores gives some evidence of being positively related to variables of socialization which have to do with the attachment of affect (positive or negative) to achievement oriented behaviour.

2. In societies where parent behaviour is characterized by indulgence and lack of rigidity, n Ach. scores show tentative evidence of being more related to the importance of achievement oriented behaviour in adult life.

3. n Ach. is negatively related to general rigidity of socialization and perhaps positively related to general indulgence.......

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conceivably this may indicate that low rigidity
and high indulgence (within the range of
variation found among cultural practices)
favour the child's identification with adults
and thus, tended to produce preoccupation with
achievement just because conformity of adult
standards of excellence in skill is every
-where different or impossible for children to
achieve.

Feld in his longitudinal study of the origins of
achievement strivings could not find any significant
relationships between n Ach. and maternal encouragement of
early childhood independent accomplishment. Other incidental
findings of the study were:

1. positive relationship between n Ach. of
adolescents and maternal encouragement of
adolescents independence.

2. strong negative relationship between maternal
encouragement of early childhood independent
accomplishment and test-anxiety.

3. Tendencies of negative relationship between
maternal attitude towards their sons independ-
ent accomplishment during childhood and
adolescence.

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IV.3 <u>Socio-Economic Status of</u>
<u>the Family and n Ach.</u>

Rosen and Douvan seem to be the pioneer research-
ers in this area. Rosen (1956) in his study found that the
members of the middle class tend to have considerably higher
n Ach. scores than individuals in the lower social status.
Indications were also found in the study that middle class
is characterized by a large proportion of persons with
achievement oriented values.

Douvan's (1956) findings suggest that the achieve-
ment motivation among adolescents in middle and **working**
classes is functional to the dominant values and behaviour
expectations of these class sub-cultures. He commented that:

"The occupational role of the middle class adult
requires a high degree of competitive performance, the
product is individual, and the responsibility for success
and failure is personal. To meet these demands successfully
the individual must be equipped with generalized and stable
internal motivation to achieve. The industrial manual
worker, on the other hand, is more familiar with non-
personal causality and the effect of external factors on
individual goal attainment. His labour contributes to a
group product and the value of personal competitiveness is
minimal in his occupational role. Success and failure are
less highly personalized. So there is little need to

strive unless success involves more meaningful and apparent reward".

Bruckman (1966) also found significant positive relation between n Ach. and· both social class membership and social stream assignment. However, when the effect of I.Q. was partialled out, the relationship become insignificant. I.Q. thus, seems to be a mediating and social stream assignment.

In three Indian studies, Shrivatsava and Tiwari (1967), Mehta (1969) and Desai (1970) also, social class differences were found reflected in n Ach. scores. Shrivatsava and Tiwari in their study found middle class Ss scoring higher on n Ach. than upper class Ss who were in turn found superior to lower class Ss. However, only the difference in n Ach. between the middle class· and lower class was found to be statistically significant in Shrivatsava and Tiwari's study, while in Mehta's study working class boys tended to show a higher level of n Ach. than the lower middle class boys. Desai found SES as a predominant factor affecting n Ach. level of pupils, In two recent studies, I.G.Patel (1972) and M.J.Desai (1972) it was found that n Ach, is not related to SES.

Income level was also found to be related to n Ach. in one of the studies conducted by Morris (1966) who found this relationship in both projective and objective

measures of achievement motivation. However, the relation-
ship was found to be more prominent in objective measure of
n Ach.

IV.4 Physical and Psychological
Conditions of the Family

Angelini (1967) found size of the family to be
probably related to n Ach. A comparison between the intensity
of achievement motivation and the size of the families of
adolescents indicated that the larger the size of the family
the weaker the achievement motive, although this relation
was not found to be statistically significant.

Bradburn (1963) studying the relationship between
n Ach. and father domination in Turkey, found in three
independent samples that Turks who were less dominated by
their fathers had significantly higher n Ach. scores than
those who were more dominated by their fathers. Such a
relationship was, however, not found when dominance was
measured by S's report of who had the greatest influence in
their lives.

NutMall (1964) found negative relationship between
n Ach. and authoritarian child training attitude in urban
Negroes. Low n Ach. was found to be linked with absence of
father.

In Bartlett and Smith (1966) study it was found

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that the boys with high as compared to low n Ach. had the
following types of family backgrounds.

Their mothers more often expressed disappointment
with unsatisfactory behaviour.

Parents less often told them how much they love
them as a reward.

Parents made fewer demands for achievement and
independence, however, the age of such demands was unrelated
to n Ach.

Hill (1966) formed two groups of high scorers (top
20 per cent) and low scorers (bottom 20 per cent), separate-
ly for male and females, on each of the two variables,
achievement via conformity (AC) and achievement via
independence (AI) and studied their autobiographical
contents. He found that:

High AC male and female students perceived their
parental and sibling relationships as more positive than
the low AC groups.

High AI's reported less favourable perception of
their mothers.

During adolescence high AC girls apparently fared
markedly better while high AI boys seemed significantly
less happy and well adjusted.

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Muthayya (1967) found negative but insignificant relationship between autocratic scores (on traditional family ideology scale) and n Ach. and positive relationship between n Ach. and democratic attitude.

The results of the studies in this area, indicate that democratic, congenial but less affectionate relationship in the family promote n Ach. in children.

V. CULTURAL INFLUENCE AND n Ach.

McClelland was interested at the outset to learn whether the n Ach. measure could generate sensible relationship among variables gathered from social and cultural indices. Kallenbach and McClelland (1958) tested fifteen adult males nominated as 'successful' in their type work. Positive relationships were found between n Ach. and success - ranking and communality service, but not for indices of income, occupation, education etc. This means that n achievers in various stations of life were none the less identifiable by behaviour presumably associated with the presence of n Ach.

Crockett (1962) obtained n Ach. scores from a nation-wide sample of over three hundred males. Using as his mobility index the discrepancy between the S and his father in socio-economic status, he found n Ach. positively associated with upward mobility, as was n Aff., and

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established that the relationship held with education, age, and prestige of origin partialled out.

Burnstein, Moulton and Liberty (1963) find collateral support for the Kallenbach-McClelland findings. They found, as predicted, that the n Ach. high V. Ach. group preferred the prestige - high competence group while the low n Ach - low V. Ach. preferred the high prestige - low competence set. Obviously, both prestige and competence levels are incentives for occupational choice, and while the n achiever is not averse to prestige, he will if forced to make a choice, choose the job with the greatest demand for competence.

Bradburn (1963) compared Turkish and American junior incentives classified as high and low father dominance, and found n Ach. negatively associated with dominance as well as a much higher level of n Ach. for the Americans. Kerckhoff (1959) also reported higher n Ach. scores for white grade school children, bring close to a chippeWa reservation, as opposed to the Indian children identifying most closely with the white society.

Merbaum (1962) tested white and Negro children in the elementary grade of a rural school. Both groups came from the lower social strata. The n Ach. scores for the white children exceeded those of the Negroes with the

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difference incrdasing regularly with age among Negroes, the girls had higher n Ach. scores than the boys, score differences were least for school scores and greatest for neutral scores.

Nutall (1964) included two TAT pictures especially devised for the study in an extensive survey battery used with 196 Negro men and women drawn from a Negro district. The summary states that positive r's between need for achievement and occupational status, information, and seeing white as larger on the irradiation perceptual illusion were found. A negative 'r' existed between n Ach. and authoritarian child training attitudes. Father absence was linked to low n Ach. High n Ach. Northern men (NM) tend to be less religious, more militant, better educated, have higher occupational status and feel more victimised than low n Ach. NM. High n Ach. Southern men (SM) have higher incomes, are more religious, deny feeling victimised by discrimination, repress their hostility and are less educated than low n Ach. SM.High n ^{A}ch. women tend to join protest groups. High n Ach. SW express their own hostility and accept male violence while n Ach. NW do not.

McClelland's basic strategy is to take n Ach. at face value, arguing that concern for competition with internalized standards of excellence must grow from a limited constellation of child-rearing practices and must

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culminate in reasonably clear sensitivity to cues, prefer-
ence for work conditions and styles of performance.
Accordingly he has set out to develop those criteria having
meaning cross culturally, which can then be tested for
relationships to n Ach. as it is found around the world.
The n achiever emerges as one who desires to take personal
responsibility for decisions where the risks are moderate
and results of one's actions can be clearly known. Such a
syndrome is found repeatedly in business and governmental
situations of responsibility and seems to be the psycho-
logical essence of the term enterpreneur.

Meyer and Walker (1961) contrasted a matched group
of managers and specialists regarding attitudes and values
toward performance appraised and salary increase plans.
In general, n Ach. does not discriminate between the
groups, but expressed preference for risk shows that those
emphasising moderate risks among managers shows a
preference for merit plans based on personal contributions,
while those doing so among the specialists emphasised
experience and rated performance.

McClelland (1955) also attempts to use n Ach. as
measured in cultural documents, especially those used in
child-rearing, as a predictor to economic indices of
national growth or decline.

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Burris (1958) demonstrated that counselling, focussing on achievement behaviours similar to the n Ach. score categories, did produce ⋯ cultural and social stratification and n Achievement.

Gokulnathan and Mehta (1972) found tribal high school children showing high n achievement then non-tribal children. The study also revealed a similar trend of difference between rural and urban children. However, the rural based boys showed ho difference in their level of n Ach. whereas the urbans did. The tribal boys who had migrated from a village to some urban area and was studying in some urban based school showed significantly greater n achievement than his non-tribal counterpart. An earlier study at NCERT (1970) obtained similar trends in favour of tribals.

Another interesting result of the Gokulnathan and Mehta's study was that there was no non-tribal difference in the level of n achievement as far as girls were concerned. On the other hand, the tribal boys showed significant difference with the non-tribal boys. Within the tribal group there was no sex difference. Again, the non-tribal girls showed significantly greater n Ach. than the non-tribal boys. On the whole, girls showed significantly greater n Ach. than boys.

Mehta (1969) has earlier found that the SES of pupils as such was not significantly related to n Ach.

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However, significant trends appeared when fathers educational level and occupational group were considered separately. Both these factors in the pupils' home background showed significant relationship. Children of fathers in professional and semi-professional group particularly the latter consistently showed higher level of n achievement than children from the other group. Children of small shopkeepers, showed about the lowest level. The difference between n achievement of children of skilled workers and those of shopkeepers was quite significant within the lower middle class group, education showed positive relationship with n achievement. Children of skilled workers with low education showed significantly greater n achievement than those of lower middle class fathers also with low education. Fathers' education and occupation suggested depression in n achievement of children in the middle ranges of the fathers' education continuum as well as in the occupational ladder.

In the Gokulnathan and Mehta's study (1972) the tribal low EL boys, showed significantly greater n Ach. than non-tribal low E^L boys. Within tribal and non-tribal groups neither fathers' education nor occupation nor income showed significant relationship with children's n achievement. The results only confirmed the importance of the tribal or non-tribal family background.

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In the Gujarat study (Desai, 1972), the fathers composite SES did not show significant relationship with children's n achievement. Chaudhary (1972) found these two to be positively related. She also found the girls showing significantly greater n achievement than boys. Desai, however, found the boys to show higher n achievement. Namdeo (1972) also found boys of Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh showing greater n achievement than girls. However, Mehta (1973) found female college students greater in n achievement. The results, therefore, are not very conclusive. They do, however, suggest that disadvantaged groups, whether socially, culturally or economically, as argued elsewhere, Mehta (1971) such as women irrespectively of SES, tribals irrespective of residence and those from relatively poor homes tend to show a greater urge to improve resulting in their greater n achievement, increase in n Ach. scores. The Ss were matched on ability and drawn from a self-improvement course. The counselling did not produce group differences in improvement in this course, but the overall grade averages of the experimental counsellors did increase.

VI. SEX DIFFERENCES AND n Ach.

All types of sex differences in achievement motivation have been generally found in the various research studies. Some studies have found male superior to females

9   in n Ach.

Sinha (1967) in his study of post-graduate students in psychology found that boys were high in n Ach. than girls.

Rosenblum and Haarman (1970) found that first born males superior to first born females in n Ach.

Franken and Murphy (1970) tried to find out the differential effect of continued success on high and low n Ach. males and females. It was found in their study that high n Ach. (HA) men make the task more difficult to preserve the preferred ratio of 0.5 and that low n Ach. (LA) men optimise winning while winning and losing when they are losing. But, women tend to move towards the target no matter what the ratio of hits to misses is. LA women tend to behave like HA men and HA women tend to behave like LA men.

There are also studies in which females were found superior to males in n Ach.

Minigione (1965) found in one of his studies of Negro population that Negro girls scored significantly higher n Ach. than Negro boys.

Munz, Smouse and Letchworth (1968) conducted two studies using non-projective instrument which measures two

aspects of achievement motivation. Scale one measures need
to achieve on a task and scale two measures need to be a
success. In one study, females scored higher than males on
the second scale, while, in the other study, females scored
significantly higher than males on both the scales.

In studies like those of Bruckman (1966), and
Desai (1970) no sex differences were found in n Ach. In
Bruckman's study, boys and girls were found to be equally
achievement-oriented, and in Desai's study, boys and girls,
both showed, verbalization of greater number of TI stories
than UI stories.

Mukherjee (1965) observed in his study that high
n Ach. females are not different from their male counter-
parts on self-rating of personality traits, such as
preserverance and intellectual ability. At the earlier
trial both rated themselves high and at the latter trial
both rated themselves comparatively lower.

Houts and Entwisk (1968) studying the views of X
grade 405 females on their female role and attitude towards
grade competition found masculine competitive behaviour
appropriate to the female role ,and a relationship between
achievement attitude and school grade.

A similar but more elaborate study by Stein (1971)
confirmed this association of sex role standards and some

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of the determinants of achievement motivation. Stein found
in his study that sex role standards for six achievement
areas - mechanical, athletics, mathematics, reading,
artistic and social skills - are related to their attain-
ment value expectations and standard of performance in
those three areas (determinants of achievement motivation).
However, typing was found to be more influential in
determining:

...the expectations and standards of lower socio-
economic group than that of the higher socio-economic
group and -

the attainment values in higher grades. Though
neither sex role preferences were found to be related to
the pattern of motivation scores nor was there any age or
socio-economic status differences in sex role standards
were correlated with motivation scores.

French and Lesser (1964) had also found confirma-
tion of their hypothesis that females would respond to
arousal cues with heightened achievement motivation scores
and high motivated performance relationship when the cues
were related to a goal that was achievement-oriented to
them but not otherwise.

Baruch (1967) tested two more hypotheses regarding
the nature of n Ach. in females:

- there is a temporal cycle of n Ach., associated with age and family situations in women, and

- high n Ach. is associated with return to paid employment.

These hypotheses were tested against the TAT stories written by 137 Radcliffe aluminae and were found justifiable but a broader test with a nation wide sample of 763 women failed to confirm either of the hypotheses. The first relationship was obtained for only college women in the sample, and further analysis indicated a true lag between increased n Ach. and increased partitipation in paid employment.

It was expected that important sex differences would appear in the achievement motive research. The basic validation studies used male populations and the initial efforts by Veroff, Wilcox and Atkinson (1950) to show increases in n Ach. scores following the standard arousal procedures were unsuccessful with a population of secondary school females.

A carefully designed study by Lesser, Krawitz and Packard (1963) using college females, has revealed some of the complexities involving women. The instruction effect displayed an interaction with pictures such that the achiever group increased in n Ach. writing to female

pictures but nor males, while the non-achievers increased on male pictures but not on female pictures. Clearly the locus of identification moderates the response to achievement situations.

Angelini (1955) studied Brazilian college women and found they did increase in n Ach. under achievement instructions and concludes that these highly selected females are more competitive than the U.S. college women.

French and Lesser (1964) suspecting the achievement relevance of the goals served by the task, designed a study of value orientation (intellectual vs. woman's role attitude scale), arousal condition (intellectual vs. woman's role), sex of stimulus figure, and college type (woman's vs. caed) as they affected performance on the neutral administration of the French Insight Test. They did find increases in n Ach. when arousal cues are related to goals achievement relevant for subjects but not otherwise. The strongest effects of motivation on performance were found using the female form of the Insight Test.

The pattern of findings emerging from these studies shows clearly that, however, similar the basic motivational dynamics may be for both sexes, the expression of those dynamics differs greatly according to the cues presented to the subjects.

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VII. LEVEL OF ASPIRATION AND
ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

The literature on level of aspiration (LA) has
consistently shown that clear results or norms cause LA
to approximate the realities of the situation, and it was
expected from the outset that motivation would be most
influential under ambiguous results or prior to experience
with the task at hand.

Atkinson (1950) found that n Ach. correlated -.45
with positive aspiration only for those Ss in his course
whose past grades conflicted with their general average,
placing them in an ambiguous situation. Support for this
functional relationship between motivation and cognition
has also come from a study by Kausler and Trapp (1958)
who found that Ss with high n Ach. displayed greater
optimism at the outset of five trials of a digit - symbol
substitution task, but as results were obtained, the
difference in aspiration between high and low Ss steadily
approached zero.

Kausler (1959) has also done/of the few experi-
ments using LA as the independent variable. He reports
that Ss who were asked to make LA estimates out performed
those who were not asked, and one wonders whether Ss with
high n Ach. may not give themselves such instructions when
low n Ach. Ss do not. Furthermore, asking for LA could be
achievement arousing which might explain why Ricciuti and

Schultz (1958) report no relationship between n Ach. and LA for males who took the TAT after the LA task.

Clark, Teevan and Ricciuti (1956) found that students expressing extremes of aspiration about final examination grades had lower n Ach. scores than those of moderate aspirations, and that these moderates wrote stories with negative sub-scores. The suggestion that moderate aspiration reflects reality orientation toward achievement which realistically does involve obstacles, disappointment, and possible failure, which in turn appear in fantasy, has not been pursued by other experiments whose data could be so analysed. Reitman and Williams (1961) repeated the above experiment and failed to replicate the results, using the Taylor Manifest Anxiety scale, they found FF patterns of aspiration associated with high anxiety.

Pettharst (1955) attempted to explore the effects of success and failure on LA estimates of Ss with high and low levels of n Ach. The chief findings were that n Ach. taken from the neutral session showed a picture relationship to LA under the ego aroused condition and for Ss who choose to shift to the new task. Otherwise, LA was determined by the reality cues of success and failure with a subtle effect of n Ach. found i.e. an increase in performance following success and decrease following failure for high n Ach. Ss, and no change following success with an

increase following failure for the low n Ach. Ss.

Diggory and Morlock (1961) used the French n Ach. test and an individually administered card-sorting test with controlled scores producing one group of Ss with high scores and another with low. They found that the high performance group gave larger positive LAs than the low performance group. On the one trial where all Ss were urged to make the top score, all LAs went up. The n Ach. score shows no relation to LA but does relate to actual performance. Once again, the cognitive cues seem to override motivational effects on aspiration.

Mahone (1960) classified 135 college males as 'realistic or unrealistic' in vocational aspiration according to Ss estimate of his ability. He found that Ss with the high n Ach. - low test anxiety pattern were most realistic, and those with the low n Ach. high test anxiety pattern most unrealistic.

Burnstein (1963) used the aspiration indices of Clark, Teevan and Ricciuti (1956) for occupational goals. Using the n Ach. - TAQ patterns he found TAQ alone discriminated, with lowering aspirations as TAQscores increased.

Heckhausen (1963) reports that FF Ss set either very high or very low goals, and following failure do not

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change. His HS Ss are more realistic and adjustive to outcomes. He also reports that initial goal setting prior to results differ with those high in total n Ach. starting with high aspiration and those with low n Ach. starting low.

Experiments of McClelland (1956), Atkinson (1959), Clark, Teevan and Ricciuti (1956) show that persons with high n Ach., more frequently set their level of aspiration in the intermediate range of difficulty.

Mukherjee (1965a) demonstrating the construct validity of a forced choice sentence completion test (SCT) as a measure of achievement motivation found overall difference between high and low n Ach. groups on three measures derived from aspired, expected and actual scores on three psychology quizes given to 95 college freshmen.

Vandev Meer (1967) found significant, although, non-linear relationship between n Ach. and level of aspiration.

Pareek, Kumar and Chattopadhyay (1968) studied 173 families in a North Indian village. They factored analysed the data concerning level of aspiration on seven different aspects of living and traced out the following three factors:-

Achievement orientation explaining 22 per cent of

.8   the variance.

Security explaining 17 per cent of the variance.
And general factor explaining 38 per cent of the variance.
This factor had high loading on all aspects of level of
aspiration except on education, the most important was on
land.

Jawa (1972) found n Ach. positively and significant-
ly correlated to future aspirations. The relationship
between past and present position on the personal aspira-
tion was not significant, indicating no change in present
position and past, when viewed together were positively
related to future aspiration.

Martire (1956) found that persons having generaliz-
ed achievement motivation (i.e. those who obtained high
n Ach. scores) but presumed to be also anxious about failure,
reported significantly lower wishful and realistic level
of aspiration for a specific task then other Ss.

In Smith's (1963) study, the predicted relationship
between achievement motivation and goal setting behaviour
occurred only under relaxed condition, in which the subjects
were instructed that the last was of little importance
and hence they need not try it hard.

Muthayya and Rajeshwari (1969) studied personal
aspiration and its relation to achievement motive in 57

female secondary grade trainees. They used a pictorial non-verbal 10 point ladder scale as a measure of aspiration, and Murray's TAT cards (TBM) as a measure of achievement motivation. They did not find any relationship between achievement motive and level of aspiration. No differences were observed between the high and low achievement groups in the time dimension also.

H. K. Nijhawan and N. Chaudhary (1970) studied a sample of 113 boys and 116 girls of Punjab higher secondary schools and found that the high n Ach. low anxious group was unrealistic regarding vocational choices. On the basis of this, it was concluded that n Ach. influences vocational aspiration and choices.

Four more Indian studies are located in this area which revealed contradictory results.

G. T. Patel (1971) took up the case studies of highly motivated and lowly motivated pupils from one grade and found that highly motivated pupils generally fix up the moderate goals, while low motivated pupils generally fix up the lower level goals.

J. S. Shah (1972) while trying out the syllabus in achievement motivation on 35 pupils found no difference in the nature of future aspirations of the pupils with high n Ach., middle n Ach. and low n Ach. He found all the

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pupils with very high life goals.

In another study, M. J. Desai (1972) also found
that the vocational aspirations of high n Ach. pupils and
of low n Ach. pupils generally do not differ. Pupils in
general were found leaning towards higher vocational
aspirations.

I. G. Patel (1972) conducted an experiment to
study the effect of expectation boosting up programme on
the pupils' n Ach. level. Along with other things he
observed that pupils in general were not conscious about
their life goals and there was no significant difference
between the life goals of high n Ach. and low n Ach.
groups of pupils.

Review of other kinds of researches reveal that
n Ach. affects nearly all the aspects of occupational
behaviour, for example:

Tseng and Carter (1970) found that high n Ach. low
fear of failure and low n Ach. high fear of failure group
of persons differ significantly on (i) occupational
choice, (ii) occupational aspirations and (iii) perception
of occupational prestige.

Shanthanani and Hafeez (1969) found more students
with high n Ach. in engineering courses than in arts
courses.

Orso (1969) found science majors significantly higher in n Ach. scores than humanities majors and humanities majors significantly higher than business majors on n Ach.

Persons with high n Ach. were found occupying higher occupational status by Nutall (1964) and were found more in entrepreneurial occupations by McClelland (1965a) and were specially found more in business enterprise as against agricultural enterprise by N. P. Singh (1970).

More occupational mobility was found in persons with high n Ach. by Littig and Veracaris (1965) and Tseng and Carter (1970).

Persons with high n Ach. were found developing more interest in their occupation in the form of obtaining more organizational knowledge and becoming a more productive salesman, by Botha and Koper (1963).

However, Elder (1968) found drive for achievement to be more predictive of occupational success than educational status among men of working class origin, while the reverse pattern was found among men of middle class.

VIII.DEVELOPMENT OF n Ach.

The capacity for arousal by achievement situations of achievement imagery must be learned at a very early age.

Winterbottom (1953) studied the child-rearing techniques endorsed by mothers of boys whose teachers described their behaviour and who were given the TAT. She found that boys who scored high on n Ach. under both relaxed and aroused conditions received demands for independence of action at an earlier age than those scoring low; received rewards by display of physical affection, and did not differ from the lows in amount or nature of punishment received. Mothers rate those high n Ach. sons as more skills and teachers sees them as more motivated for success in school work, more independent, more popular and more pleased with success.

Rosen's (1955) work revealed that secondary school sophomores displaying the most n Ach. came from the middle class n Ach, shows a positive correlation with academic average with social class partialled out, but not with aspiration to go to college. However, in this study, V.Ach. (i.e. self-ascribed achievement value) was associated with college aspirations.

Douvan (1956) studied high school seniors and found that n Ach. scores increased for working class boys when a ten-dollar prize was offered, but was uniformly high for middle class boys under both monetary and achievement task instructions.

3   Rosen (1959) studied the appearance of n Ach. in TATs of sons of French-Canadian, Italian, Greek, Jewish, Negro and White Protestant families, stratified by social class on Hollingshed's index. She reports reliable differences between the groups for n Ach. for social class and considerable support for Winterbottom's findings regarding the early beginnings of independence training as associated with the highest groups. Subsequently, in 1962, Veroff, Feld and Gurin reported a nation wide sample of religious information vs. n Ach. and confirmed Rosen's basic findings. They also turned up a web of relationships between income, family size, and religious affiliation which suggests that the middle aged Catholics with a high income and small family displayed more n Ach. than other Catholics despite an emphasis on restrictive child-rearing practices.

3   Strodtbeck (1958) compared a sample of boys 14-17 (N is 24) matched for stratification from Jewish and Italian families, and found n Ach. associated with academic achievement beyond aptitude prediction, with V.Ach. expressed by the father but not the mother or boy himself, and that V.Ach. was also associated with academic achievement.

These findings suggest the need to learn more about the actual family interaction surrounding independence training. Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) showed the best way it is done, by placing young boys (9-11) in achievement

task situations in the home with the parents observing and being observed. Parents of high n achievers selected more difficult tasks for the boys to do, these boys performed best on the tasks and made fewer requests for aid. The fathers, set high standards but gave warm, non-directive help. The mothers also set high standards but were warmly demanding and urging without being specific x in their demands. Rosen (1962) conducted a similar study in Brazil, and he found the predominant family structure of male authoritarianism and maternal indulgence produces very little achievement motivation in young boys.

Argyle and Robinson (1962) administered a test battery of n Ach., Q. Ach. (self-reported achievement behaviours), parental achievement demands, identification and general guilt reactions. The pattern of relationships suggests that n Ach. is positively related to achievement demands, when identification is high and to capacity for guilt.

Chance (1961) studied children in the first grade and investigated the effects of independence training (as measured by Winterbottom's scale) on achievement with intellectual ability partialled out. She finds that children whose mothers favours earlier demands for independence make poorer school progress relative to their intelligence level than children whose mothers favour

later independence demands. This finding suggests that incipient n Ach. in first grade children may not be compatible with actual school achievement until the class-room has succeeded in making academic achievement instrumental to the satisfaction of n Ach.

In 1959, Feld reported once more on Winterbottom's sample of boys who were now 14-16. This study illustrates the type of longitudinal work that must be done to learn more about the genesis of n Ach.

Kagan and Moss (1959) scored standard TAT protocols for achievement thema after McClelland's system. The protocols being given by boys and girls, report very low levels of thema, but an increase with age, low positive stability over time, a generally positive relationship between n Ach. and gain in IQ, and a relationship between n Ach. and education of father for boys.

Observing that parents of mentally retarded children do not stress early independence training. Jordan and De Charms (1959) predicted and found that these children have lower n Ach. scores than their normal peers and seem quite free from overt fear of failure imagery if placed in special classes. They show that the lower scores are not due to low verbal fluency.

These emerges from these studies a sense of the

origins of the n Ach. as rooted in early training for independence, subsequently harnessing of the dispositions so acquired for socially defined achievement situations, support of the n Ach. by warm but demanding parental models, and considerable experience with emotional satisfaction in achievement situations. Such a pattern suggests that the n achiever should be experienced in maximizing pay offs, relatively free from anxiety about failure, and therefore, efficient at those tasks he chooses to attempt.

Besides the empirical studies discussed so far, attempts have also been made to raise the level of n Ach. in individuals, through various research projects and through a well designed achievement motivation development programmes.

Alfred Alschuler, Diane Tabor and James MacIntyre have published a book - "Teaching Achievement Motivation", and Richard De Charms has published a number of reports, both dealing with the reviews of researches on achievement motivation development.

Desai and Trivedi (1968, 1970) have summarized and abstracted most of the projects, and have published in the special issue on "Research on Achievement Motivation" of Journal of Education and Psychology, Vol.XXX, No. 2, July, 1972.

A brief mention of some of the research projects described in the special issue cited above is given below:

Study of Businessmen of Bombay by McClelland

Thirtyfour businessmen from the Bombay area attended the training course intended to raise the n Ach. in the trainees. Of the thirty on whom information was available in 1965, 27 per cent had been unusually active before the course, 67 per cent after the course ($X^2 = 11.2$, $p < .01$). In a controlled group from those who applied for the course in 1963, it was found that 18 per cent were active before 1963 and 27 per cent since 1963.

(2) ## Study by McClelland in 1964, in Collaboration with an Indian Government Society in Small Industries Extension Training Institute

McClelland selected two small societies - that of Kakinada in Andhra Pradesh and Vellore in Madras Province - as sites for intensive efforts to train as many of the principal businessmen as possible. Follow up of this study in 1966 revealed that in Kakinada group 14 per cent of the trainees were unusually active, 2 years before the training 19 per cent were unusually active after 6 months and 47 per cent were unusually active 18 months after training. Respective figures for Vellore group for 2 years before training and 6 and 12 months after training were 0 per cent,

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11 per cent and 22 per cent. "....the data shortly indicat-
ed that environmental obstacles associated with a man's
status in India may be the important thing blocking subse-
quent activity", a finding that tends to corroborate the
explanation proposed by Kolb for the lack of gain in
grades found in the low SES achievement trained boys a year
and a half after their course.

(3) Arnoff and Litwin (1966) report the results of
an achievement motivation training course given to a group
of middle level executives working for a corporation that
is described as "one of the most dynamic and rapidly growing
in the world".

Sixteen men attended the achievement training
course for 5 days. The training concentrated primarily on
conceptualizing achievement motivation, relating it to the
executives' problems, achievement behaviour (the business
game), and achievement goal setting. The study indicates
that training can increase behaviours that leads to unusual
advancement even in men of initially high n achievement.

(4) Study by Burris (1958) on under-
    achieving High School Boys

Some preliminary results reported by Burris indicat-
ed that n achievement counselling of college underachievers
significantly improved their grades.

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In India, the major work in this direction is done
by Fr. M. J. Heredero, Prayag Mehta and D. B. Desai and his
associates.,

(5) <u>Study by Fr.Heredero on University Youths</u>

Fr. Heredero organized five training courses in
1968 and five trāining courses in 1969 at Mount Abu for
university youths. For all his training courses he observed
that the camps do effect behavioural changes, and there was
a definite improvement in the achievement motivation index
of the youths as a result of training.

(6) <u>Study by Prayag Mehta on High
School Boys in Delhi</u>

Prayag Mehta trained the teachers in achievement
motivation as a result of which the n Ach. level of the
teachers was raised. These teachers were given a specially
designed curriculum to be implemented on school pupils. It
brought out the desired effects. The n Ach. level of pupils
was raised and their performance improved to a considerable
extent.

(7) <u>Research Projects by D.B.Desai
on High School Pupils</u>

D. B. Desai conducted three research projects in
collaboration with his colleagues.

(i) In the first project, Mehta's curriculum was

tried out in 14 secondary schools of Kaira district, after
training the teachers of the respective schools in achieve-
ment motivation. The teachers - already trained in achieve-
ment motivation - tried out the curriculum on pupils. As a
result of this the n Ach. level of pupils was raised and the
pupils considerably gained in their performance in examina-
tions.

(ii) The second project of the same nature was
replicated in urban schools in collaboration with CASE,
Baroda. M.B.Buch, D. B. Desai and R.S. Trivedi jointly
conducted the project and came out with positive gains,
not only in terms of n Ach. but also in terms of school
performance of ⁼ urban pupils. The general behaviours of
the pupils was also found to be changed.

(iii) The third project was conducted by D.B.Desai
and R. S. Trivedi, in which a new curriculum - prepared by
Desai, Trivedi and their associates - was implemented in
14 urban and rural schools of Gujarat.

The gain in n Ach., after the implementation of
curriculum ranged from +2 to +21. The gain in performance
score of pupils range from +5 per cent to +25 per cent.
Over and above this the motivation of pupils towards
schools was also raised.

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General Observation on Studies
Related to n Achievement

The review of the researches revealed that n Ach.
is a multi-dimensional need, basically it may be consider-
ed as a personal need but by and large it is a social need
affected by a variety of ethnic, social, personal and
organic factors which in turn affect the personality and
behavioural patterns of individuals in a variety of ways.
However, one fails to come to any coherent and wider
generalizations about n Ach. The reasons are obvious.

Most of the researchers have tried to measure n Ach.
using different tools under different conditions and of
different samples. It is necessary, therefore, to replicate
studies, on the same sample with the same tools and under
the same conditions, in order to **reach**. to a particular
conclusion.

It is also true that most of the research studies
on n Ach. have taken only one or a few variables to study
at a time, viz., risk-taking and n Ach., child-rearing
practice in relation to n Ach., n Ach. in relation to SES,
and so on. This is also true for researches in academic
fields more and samples differ from study to study and it
becomes rather difficult to form a coherent generalization.
What is, therefore, needed is more of multivariate studies
in which variety of variables are studied at a time in

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relation to n Ach. and if possible the same sample. This
may provide better insight into the nature of n Ach. and
better integration and synthesis of the results obtained so
far. Cross cultural studies on the same line may also help
in this integrative effort. Knowledge gained through such
studies may not only help to form a more coherent picture
of n Ach., but may also be found quite useful in designing
achievement motivation development training programme.

S E C T I O N   B

STUDIES   IN   OTHER   VARIABLES

IX. PREVIOUS RESEARCHES IN FoF

IX.1   The Significance

The successful person needs those who have failed,
and those who have failed need hope that some day the
tables will be reversed. There is no total escape from
the achievement race, although an alarming number are
trying. Lotus eating is one way out of the race for success.
Most people are not so fortunate and must remain where
people evaluate one another on the quality of their
success. It is not surprising that there are large segments
of our society that avoid achievement situations whenever
they can and when they cannot, do not try to succeed. Such
dispositions is not only common among the down-trodden,

but among those who should know better because they are
the children of the hardworking and ever striving middle
class.

It is a fallacy in the social value which recogniz-
es the students only from the academic performance. We
find at times, pupils with high performance but with low
concern for excellence and low hope of success. We also
find pupils having a high n Ach. score and still low in
their academic performance.

As William Purney puts it....."the mental world,
the perceptual world is far more important and significant.
Academic performance is just a part of its manifestation.
Prof. McClelland in "The Roots of Consciousness" wrote
.....I tend to like a student who listens to me attentive-
ly when I am throwing my pearls of wisdom to him....but
the inattentive is not to be neglected. We are in the rat
race of academic excellence, at the cost of which
excellence in other areas is sacrificed. But are we to
sacrifice creativity at the alter of academic excellence?

In the perceptual world of the pupils several
variables are significantly located, tested and research-
ed upon, such as self-concept, achievement motive,
anxiety, risk taking and fear of failure.

Fear of failure is one of such mental component

which is drawing greatest attention. In Germany, Prof. Heinz Heckhausen is working on HoS and in U.S.A., Prof. Birney is working on FoF.

Research in achievement motivation started with McClelland in 1946-47 at the University of Michigan and Wesleyar. From thence, a number of research studies have followed in various branches of psychology, education and sociology. These research studies were intended to verify the theories of achievement motivation as propounded by McClelland and his associates.

The work of McClelland and his associates had suggested that there was probably both negative and positive motivation operating in the achievement situation. An attempt was made to find a way of measuring 'Fear of Failure' through the use of the McClelland, et al.measure of need for achievement (n Ach.). A programme of research was initiated to see if the measure made any sense in terms of other things. If the measure is valid, it should be related in certain ways to other measures and to actual behaviour. A person who is afraid of failure should not seek out achievement tasks, but should avoid them as far as possible.

Subsequent work suggests that the attractiveness of achievement situations can be varied in such a way that some tasks may have the most appeal for fear of failure

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subjects. Under choice of task, the use of absolute voca-
tional values suggests that the FF SS are more cautious
in their range of choices. But none of the studies had
taken the step to determine whether the FF Ss actually do
take jobs below their ability level, or keep trying to
obtain jobs for which they are not justified.

Interest in the fear of failure motive was given a
new impetus by a group of psychologists concerned with
investigating the intricacies of achievement motivation.
Under the leadership of McClelland a projective measure was
devised on the paradigm that when the stimulus field is
sufficiently ambiguous we tend to perceive things that
satisfy our wants.

In a society where success is highly valued, it
demands the individual's need for achievement. In a study
by McClelland and Liberman (1949) they interpreted their
findings to indicate that "middle" n Ach. Ss were security-
minded and concerned with avoiding failure. On the other
hand, high n Ach. Ss were concerned with achieving
success.

Birney and Teevan (1970) did pioneering work in
Fear of Failure. In fact, the present investigator has used
their tool of FoF and has dwelt upon their researches.

3　　　　IX.2　Researches Related to FoF

Here are some of the studies conducted to see the effect of success and failure experiences and the comments of others on the subsequent n Ach. of an individual.

Hayashi and Habu (1962) found, in their study of Japanese students, that in the situation where success or failure experiments was given, achievement motivation became higher than when neither of the experience was given. In the case of success experience the highest n Ach. was obtained. In India, Singh (1969) also found that n Ach. was comparatively greater in successful and progressive agricultural entrepreneurs against unsuccessful traditional ones.

Whereas, in the studies of Breit (1969) and Weiner (1969) suggest that the effect of success or failure is not directly related but is mediated by belief regarding the causes of success or failure i.e. whether the causes lie within one's own self or in the external factors.

Raban (1968)　working with college women, could not find any differential effect between success and failure in influencing the n Ach. The research design involved a test-retest of n Ach., with a success or failure experience intervening between the two measures

of n Ach. The statistical tests performed on the difference obtained between successive testing of n Ach. revealed that women with high n Ach. scores (HA) went down, and those with low n Ach. scores went up on the second n Ach. test. This difference was thought to be contaminated by the presence of ceiling effect and non-equivalence of the two series of pictures used to trigger off the achievement responses. It was actually found that four pictures used for their alleged medium structure pull, actually were not able to discriminate between the HA and LA on the first n Ach. test.

McClelland, Atkinson, Clark and Lowell (1953) investigated the intricacies of achievement motivation in a project under the leadership of McClelland. From the results of their earliest studies it was apparent to McClelland and his associates that an adequate understanding of achievement behaviour would have to include failure motivation as well as achievement motivation.

Gould had made a similar suggestion when she pointed out that individuals with strong needs to achieve may also have an intense fear of failure.

A study by Atkinson (1953) showed that Ss in the middle third of the n Ach. distribution tended to forget tasks they were unable to complete while Ss in the upper

third remembered the incompleted tasks. His interpreta-
tion of the findings was that the moderate n achievers
were defensive and regarded their inability to complete a
task as a failure, whereas Ss with high n Ach. tend to
regard their incompleted tasks as a challenge.

In a study by McClelland and Liberman (1949),
their findings were interpreted to indicate that middle
n Ach. Ss were security minded and concerned with avoiding
failure. McClelland (1951) interprets the results of
these two studies as indicating two kinds of achievement
motivation. One as oriented towards the avoidance of
failure, the other as directed towards the attainment of
success. This suggestion of two achievement orientations
supports the controversy between the early workers with
level of aspiration.

Atkinson (1954) pointed out that the categories
scores for n Ach. included both negative and positive
indices. He argues about the need to define the avoidance
motive as clearly as the approach motive has been defined;
and he choose to combine the n Ach. measure with the
Mandler-Sarason Test Anxiety Questionnaire (TAQ) to get at
the motive to approach success and the motive to avoid
failure. He also argued that the combination of high
n Ach. and low TAQ defines hope of success, while low
n Ach. and high TAQ defines fear of failure. The

implication of the combination of the tests is that fear of failure persons are not high on n Ach.

In Feather and Simon (1971) study: "It was found that the expected success was attributed more to ability and less to good luck than was the unexpected success. The expected failure was attributed more to lack of ability and less to bad luck than was the unexpected failure. The results implied that the method of forming high and low expectation conditions was not a determinant of attribution of responsibility. This result replicated the findings of the previous study (Feather, 1969) in that the subject tended to attribute unexpected outcomes to variable environmental factors and expected outcomes to stable internal factors.

IX.3 Fear of Failure and the
       Level of Aspiration

The History of Research into "failure" motivation is a brief one. The conception of fear of failure as a personality trait has its historical roots in such clinical problems as anxiety, guilt, shame and feelings of inferiority.

Dembo (1931) suggested that the individual's level of aspiration affected his satisfaction with his performance. Hoppe (1930) conducted a study and concluded that feelings of success and failure were contingent on

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attainment or unattainment of level of aspiration.Hausmann
(1933) who attempted to establish a connection between
personality and the differences between performance and
aspirational levels was the first researcher to describe
the goal-setting behaviours of persons we now conceived
as "fear of failure". His methodology became the model
for the aspirational studies that followed. If feelings
of failure were aroused by non-attainment of one's level
of aspiration, then it was logical to infer that anyone
who set his level of aspiration (LA) consistently below
his actual performance was doing this to avoid the failure
experience. Frank (1935) came to a similar conclusion
regarding his observation of one student who followed
this seemingly cautious strategy, that he was fearful of
failure. Gardner's (1940) study provided some weak support
for the argument that people who were fearful of failure
engaged in cautious goal setting. Birney, et ⸱ al. (1964)
found that high FF people exhibit defensive patterns of
responding on a LA task, than low FF individuals.

In LA studies a goal discrepancy score is obtained
by subtracting the performance score from the aspirational
score. Gould (1939) found low correlations among the
task for goal discrepancy scores. Gould claimed that the
subjects with low discrepancy scores appeared to be fear-
ful of failure. Such subjects anticipated that their

performance level would decrease and considered performance increases as flukes. However, the author argued that high discrepancy scores could also be an expression of failure fears. She believed that the desire to avoid failure could produce high or low estimates and that these were merely different ways of coping with the problem. The suggestion that a fear of failure attitude could characterise those with a low and a high discrepancy score received some support in a study by Sears (1940). Sears found that subjects with high discrepancy scores appeared to be unresponsive and inflexible and reacted to failure by becoming apathetic and escaping from the field.

The studies by Gould and Sears suggest that goal setting function as interpersonal strategies more clearly than as achievement strategies. The individual who sets his aspirations below his performance may not be doing it to avoid failure, but to present himself as a modest and acceptable person. On the other hand, the individual who sets his goals considerably above his performance may want to impress the observer with his self confidence. This is how Gould described the high discrepancy group.

In Rotter's (1954) series of studies he summarized that the high negative pattern is characteristic of Ss who desire to avoid failure at any cost, the low-negative-low-positive patterns are normal but cautious, the high-

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positive patterns were described as unrealistic solution to frustration suggesting that it might be an alternative method of handling failure. Rotter's description of LA patterns suggests that there is curvilinear relationship between goal discrepancy scores and the magnitude of the desire to avoid failure. Low goal setting seems to be a cautious act having as its purpose the avoidance of failure. It is assumed, therefore, that low goal-setting was the way a person could avoid failure.

The use of questionnaire to obtain subjective reports from Ss about their performance and the situation they are in has not been widely practised in research on fear of failure. The exploration of the psychometric correlates of HP suggests that FF Ss do report the sense of falling short of the ideals they hold, and the world is a hostile place which may affect one's efforts in arbitrary and capricious ways.

It is suggested that suspension of knowledge of results may permit variation in self-esteem expression in the face of task experience, but once an outcome is known there seems little prospect of chance in self-esteem. Under conditions of variation the fear of failure person may be more conservative about himself, because it seems certain that self-esteem estimates influence task choice and engagement behaviours, if not performance itself.

3

Memory and perception of persons high in fear of failure
seem to be used as defensive maneuvers. The studies by
Asch (1956) have dramatically shown that what appears
obvious to the senses can be undermined by facing disagree-
ment. The opinions of others become the sole determinants
of what is correct. If the person wanted to avoid informa-
tion about his ability level, we would expect him to avoid
a public display of his ability.

IX.4 Birney and Teevan's Pioneering Researches

On January 7, 1969, D. Van Nostrand Reinhold
published a book 'Fear of Failure'. This book was the
result of Contract No. 3591 (01) NR.171-803. It presents
a brief outline of the research programme on fear of
failure which continued from 1967 through August 1972
under Contract No. N00014-70-0021 NR 171-803.

In Technical Report 24, Fisher & Teevan (1969)
reported the first study having to do with HP and heart
rate in a stressful situation. Result of the study showed
no mean differences between the high and low groups, but
the high FF group was significantly more variable in heart
rate levels than the low FF group.

Technical Report 25, tries to get at the effect of
aroused testing conditions on the measurement of fear of
failure. Teevan and Dapra (1968) did an exploratory

analysis of TATs given to the same subjects under neutral and aroused conditions. The results were discussed in terms of the FF subjects interpretation of the situation and his defensive posture.

In Technical Report 26, it was reported that the FF individuals tended not to structure their own roles or the roles of their subordinates towards the goal attainment. The findings were discussed in terms of the FF individual's concern over the opinion of others and his need to submit to gain approval.

In Technical Report 27, Dapra and Teevan (1968) found some significant relationship between family relations variables and HP and also between socio-economic status and HP, for example, HP is related to the parents' undue insistence on achievement. It is also true that parents who once insist on achievement and who tend to have lower occupational or educational status seem to foster HP motivation.

In Technical Report 28, Portroy and Teevan (1968) worked on inter-personal approach avoidance and fear of failure, and found that high HP persons prefer to work in isolation, but low HP individuals prefer to work in a communal setting. These results were discussed in terms of the relationship between the social contingencies of

different work conditions and the HP persons fear of failing in the eyes of others.

In Technical Report No. 29, three hypotheses were tested:

1. That FM (Furchmisserflog-Heckhausen's measure of fear of failure) and HP subjects would have scores indicating internal and external orientations respectively.

2. That FM and HP subjects would express these orientations as well as indicate relative approach and avoidance tendencies respectively in response to questionnaires concerning a real achievement situation.

3. That HP subjects, being avoidant of achievement situations, would not resist as long as FM subjects at a task, which they thought to be difficult but possible.

These hypotheses were based on the idea that HP is an avoidance motive while FM is a motive which leads one to accept or approach the achievement situation but to work within that system to avoid failure rather than to achieve success. The first hypothesis was not confirmed, the other two were confirmed. It was concluded that the general differences between HP and FM subjects which had

been hypothesized has a good degree of validity but that
the extent of the effect of HP subjects need for social
approval had been underestimated.

Moot and Teevan (1968) in Technical Report No. 30,
found that Atkinson's result was replicated, when he found
that in the middle third of the n Ach. distribution tended
to remember completed tasks on the Geigarnik incomplete
tasks. Moot and Teevan found that Atkinson's interpreta-
tion of the results of the middle third on n Ach. did not
fit because HP measure of FF did not relate to the middle
third on n Ach. and also the HP measure related to the
Geigarnik in the same way as did the n Ách. measure. They
explained this by the difference between fear of failure
and the reaction after failure.

Hilgard's description of the person who is susce-
ptible to hypnosis, argues that the general outline of the
susceptible person, is one who can be a responsible leader
or follower, one who could work with those under him and
those once under him without hostility, one who could take
the initiative in leadership.

In Technical Report No. 5, Teevan and Hartsough
(1969) found that the high HP person tended to show
hostility toward authority and Teevan and Dapra in Techni-
cal Report No. 26, found that there was a tendency for
leadership initiative to be lacking in high HP persons,

this description of Hilgard's led to the hypothesis that
the high HP individual would be less susceptible to
hypnosis than the low. In Technical Report 31, Teevan and
Manganellow tested this hypothesis and found it to be
valid.

Technical Reports Nos. 7, 14 and 32, tried to
determine the effect of probability of success on the
incentive value of success. Atkinson makes the simple
assumption that incentives equals one minus the probability
of success. In general, incentive has a positive distorting
effect upon expectations of success but also that as
incentive increases, the degree of distortion decreases.

Teevan and Merger (1970) study on "Fear arousing
situations and the Fear of Failure Individual", found that
high HP Ss had higher overall GF Ss (Fear inventory
scores) particularly on items of the defensive strategy
of the FF individual.

In an effort to improve the HP measure, Teevan,
Ruoff and Poffenberger (Technical Report No.33)(1970)
investigated the effect of chromatic pictures on scoring
of n Ach. and HP. The results showed no significant
difference for the whole group of Ss and between or within
sex groups.

Brenner and Teevan (1970) on "Motivation and
perceptual selectivity using need for achievement and

3   Hostile Press measures" - Technical Report No. 36. Produced
important implications for methodology in future designs
involving motive measures and perceptual selectivity. A
picture effects' study confirmed the need for a standard
measure and methodology. Corbin in Technical Report No.
37, found differences in field dependence in college
females manipulating HP, n Ach. and introversion, extro-
version as independent variables.

The fear of failure personality may be described in
terms of a taxonomy of variables of the achievement
situation. The high HP person's typical reluctance to
participate in competitive achievement situation is an
example of engagement behaviour (Teevan, 1963). Secondly,
One of the things to consider in task choice, is the
condition surrounding the task. The high HP person would
be more likely to choose a task at which he can work alone
than one which is perform in groups where his performance
may be evaluated by others (Technical Report 28). Regard-
ing probability of success, the high HP will choose the
task with the highest probability of success. Although,
Technical Report 4, suggests that the high HP person will
choose a task in which the risk of failure is high and that
his evaluations of success will be realistic. Concerning
performance, Birney, Burdick and Teevan found that high
HP people do not perform well in unfamiliar, complex,

special and non-game situations. Technical Report 23
supports these findings. Technical Report 26 indicates that
high HP people are not able to initiate actions which would
make them good leaders. Another factor affecting high HP
person's performance is group pressure. This is most likely
to happen in situations with direct social contact
(Technical Report 18). Technical Report 28 shows that task
difficulty is important to performance. High HP individuals
do not persist long at difficult tasks. Technical Report
12 shows that high HP individuals (Males) have wider
confidence intervals. Technical Report 9, indicates that,
where individuals are high in both n Ach. and HP they have
unrealistically high expectations of success. Birney,
Burdict and Teevan have found that memory and perception
may be used as defensive mechanisms. The high HP indivi-
duals does not seem to perceive failure cues in a situa-
tion and may tend to forget uncompleted tasks although the
effect was not supported in the results of Technical
Report 30, here high HP and high n Ach. subjects remembered
incompleted tasks. Studies in self-esteem indicate that it
also fluctuates in way about which little is known.

Birney, Burdick and Teevan (1969) found that the
high fear of failure individual rejects responsibility for
the outcome of his performance. This is supported by
Technical Reports 19 and 29, which indicate that the high

HP individual externalizes the responsibility and criteria for success or failure. The high HP person was also found to reduce the importance of the task at which he performed poorly. Finally, the achievement situation can be discussed in terms of subsequent achievement task behaviour.There is little research in this area and most of what has been done yielded conflicting results.

All this gives us a clear picture of the high HP individual's behaviour in an achievement situation. In General, the high HP person has been threatened by the world around him since childhood. He would like to see it as controlled and predictable as possible, with some authority figure responsible for the things in general, but where his own needs would take precedence over the general welfare. He tends to be practical, introverted and hostile as well as self-initial, submissive and superstitions.

IX.5 Projective Measures of Fear of Failure

Heinz Heckhausen's recent study (1963) presents an effort to measure fear of failure projectively, using the overt **theme** of failure concern as his imagery category and then proceeding to score the same categories used in n Ach., n Affχ.and n Power as they relate efforts to avoid or undo failure in achievement situations. Heckhausen has added three pictures to the McClelland set, all of which involve the possibilities of authoritarian relationships

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(in which the work of a person is checked or judged by an obvious superior). Heckhausen proceeds to test the construct validity of his measures in a wide variety of situations. In situations where clear information is available, the HS Ss overestimates failures while FF Ss overestimates success. These reactions reverse themselves as the feedback becomes ambiguous. On simple tasks requiring no special ability he finds the HS students slow and disinterested, but they display good study habits, work more quickly on complex problems. The FF students work speedily and well on simple tasks, show poor study habits, take more time on complex problems and show a deterioration of solutions as time pressure increases.

A parallel attempt at creating a projective scoring system for fear of failure has met with success in the research of Birney, Burdick and Teevan (1961). The finding is that the arousal of failure or its expectation results in a marked increase of themes about figures who are the victims of a generally hostile press. This scoring system, called Hostile Press (Hos P.), is being used in a programme of research similar to that of Heckhausen. It is too early to tell whether the differences in the thematic content of the systems have revealed a cultural difference in failure, arousing cues. Current research with Hos P has shown that Ss high in the score prefer extremes of risk (Hancock and Teevan (1964), display extremes of aspiration (Burdick,

Birney and Teevan (1960) and show a loss of performance under pressure (Birney, Burdick and Teevan, 1962).

Despite the confusion of fear of failure measures there is no doubt that the general pattern of findings is congruent with the psychological literature on the subject and that current work is marked by sophisticated experimental design, refinement of procedure and sensitivity to problems of measurement which will take us well beyond the demonstrational stage and into a period when we will learn much about the manner in which motives affect behaviour. Atkinson's mddel has stimulated considerable research and though it will undoubtedly experience modification, it points the way to the kind of a careful hypothesis deduction which motivational research needs so badly.

Most recently the scope of the research programme has been changed to provide a complete and comprehensive analysis of motivation profiles. This was facilitated by the development of personnel who are competent scorers of multi-motive measures. This recent research has been most exciting because for the first time a comprehensive net of motive measures has been developed which deals with, "the kind of motives which actually are important in the lives of human adults. (McClelland, 1953, p. 319)

In an achieving society, success is highly instrumental in gathering esteem and respect, while failure is a

standard way of losing esteem. But there are other ways of maintaining good relations and respect, modesty is one and self-confidence is another.

If fear of failure is a motivational condition that may affect anyone, given them proper conditions, then a study of these conditions permits us to learn about this important human motive without assuming we are trying to identify some particular personality type (p. 17).

Failure can be initially defined as the non-attainment of a prescribed standard. If we are to understand why non-attainment is aversive, we must know what results from an episode of non-attainment.

Achievement situations are those in which the individual has the opportunity of discovering something new about the level of his ability. If he should discover that he is better than he thought, he experiences success, if he finds out that he is worse than he thought, he experiences failure. A fear of the self-estimate change itself if any information that suggests a change in the self estimate could constitute a threat.

Fear of failure arises only after standards of task excellence are established against which self-estimation or social evaluation may be made. Such standards are likely to develop in people who have as their main worry where their next meal is coming from.

4   Failure is the outcome in some achievement situa-
tions for even the most promising forms of behaviour.
Whether a person will fear failure depends on the magnitude
of the failure experience and whether or not he believes
the failure will take place. The simplest assumption is
that the magnitude of the fear increases as the probability
of attainment decreases.

Non-attainment is merely a recommendation that the
estimate be lowered, and this recommendation can vary in
its persuasive force. A condition for non-attainment to
carry persuasive force is the acceptance by the individual
of responsibility for the performance. When such factors
as fatigue, distraction, chance, and lack of effort are
introduced, responsibility for the performance is reduced.
Therefore, we expect that the fear of failure would increase
as responsibility increases. When the trait is very
important, but the discovery that one is incompetent, is
not instrumental in permitting the person to make a
decision in his own favour, that the fear of failure will
produce the strongest force in opposition to the drive for
evaluation. Miller's theory (1944) explains why uncertainty
would produce searching behaviour when the issue is not
important and avoidance of information when it is.

Kapoor (1974) tried to raise fear in one group and
hope in the other group of pupils and found that the raising

of fear was indicated by the FoF test in terms of
increased scores and the raising of hope was indicated by
FoF test in terms of decrease in score. Therefore, it can
be concluded that the FoF test is valid of Indian pupils.

X. PREVIOUS RESEARCHES IN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Previous studies have explored the relationship
between achievement motivation and intergenerational
occupational mobility (Littig, 1965), between achievement,
affiliation and power motivation and aspirations of black
and white American men to occupations traditionally open
and traditionally closed to black men (Littig, 1966, 1967,
1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1969, 1971) between achievement,
affiliation and power motivation and aspirations of black
and white American women to occupations traditionally
open and closed to women in America (Littig, 1971; Littig
& Okediji, 1971) and between anxiety and occupational
mobility aspirations of sixth form boys in an English
grammar school (Littig, 1963, 1970). The principal goal
of this research is to extend it into the area of social
class and to investigate the relationship among achievement,
affiliation and power motivation and aspirations to
occupations which have been traditionally open or closed
to persons born into certain class strata. A further goal
of the research is to consider the possibility that the

occupational goals that individuals establish for them-
selves will interact with their family expectations.

Social class and occupational mobility are mutually
related concepts. A person who is occupationally mobile, in
a hierarchical senses is also mobile within the social
class structure of his nation. Nations with long establish-
ed social class traditions capped by an aristocracy of
inheritance tend to enjoy much less social class mobility.
In some areas of the world these ancient traditional social
organizations have been drastically modified, usually by
violent revolutions.

Another purpose of the research was of an explora-
tory manner into the area of family planning. Motivational
differences will differentially affect expectations of
family size. Individuals who aspire to social class mobi-
lity will desire fewer children than those who do not.

The relationships among achievement, affiliation
and power motivation, social class membership and
occupational aspirations and family size intentions were
examined for samples of men and women sixth formers in
English grammar schools. It was found that the personality
and class variables tended to be related to occupational
aspirations for men and to family size intentions for
women.

Regarding occupational aspirations it was concluded that persons from working class backgrounds with strong affiliation motivation tend to aspire to traditionally open occupations when compared with persons with strong affiliation motivation from higher social class levels or with persons in general who have low affiliation motivation. Some evidence in support of the proposition that motivation would affect aspirations was found among men subjects but not among women.

Littig's (1971b) study was designed to explore effects of the same configuration of social class and motivational variables on the occupational aspirations of women. It was found first of all that no motivational effects were obtained. Neither achievement nor affiliation nor power motivation differentiated the real or ideal aspirations of either black or white women to occupations traditionally open and closed to women. Social class did not differentiate women's aspirations.

Littig (1968d, 1971a) investigated the relationship between motivational and social class, on one hand, and aspirations to open and closed occupations by black American women on the other hand. In the second study, white comparison group was added. The results showed that white subjects produced no significant relationships for any of the motivational variables when analysed in terms of occupations traditionally open and closed to blacks.

They did, however, indicate a preference for occupations traditionally closed to blacks. The black subjects from the middle class college aspired with greater frequency to open occupations than to closed, but from the working class college aspired with greater frequency to closed that to open occupations. Strong affiliation motivation was related to aspiration to real closed occupations.

Repeated research in social psychology was decided to attempt another replication in a different country (Littig, 1973) and therefore choose England. England was choosen because previous research was done on the relationships between anxiety and occupational aspiration (Littig, 1963) and occupational attainment (Littig, 1970) and the results of these studies were encouraging.

Another investigation was undertaken of the effects of social class membership, motivation and sex on aspiration to traditionally open and closed occupations among English grammar school students. The results for women showed that they do not respond to open and closed occupations. For English men affiliation motivation proved to be related significantly to aspiration to real occupations clarified as closed, but not among working class subjects.

A brief review of the results of all these studies indicate some general patterns. (1) Among women, black,

white Americans and English women from three social class levels, there are no significant relationships between any of the motivation variables and aspiration to traditionally open and closed occupations. (2) Two studies reveal a relationship between achievement motivation and aspiration to traditionally closed occupations among black American men. (3) Two studies showed a relationship between aspiration to closed occupations and affiliation motivation among subjects of middle class background.

Several years ago Crockett (1962) published an analysis of occupational mobility in which he attempted to relate among strong achievement motivation to upward occupational mobility and weak achievement motivation to downward mobility. He obtained no evidence of the latter phenomenon but did find support for the former. He found this only among persons of the working or lower middle class. Among his middle class subjects upward mobility was related to strong affiliation motivation.

Bernard Rosen's (1959) study, Race, ethnicity and the achievement syndrome, the subjects are 427 pairs of mothers and their sons, consisting of French-Canadians, Italians, Greeks, Jews, Negroes and white Protestants. The study examines differences in motivational values and aspirations of six racial and ethnic groups. Analysis of ethnographic and attitudinal and personality data suggests that these groups differed and to some extent still differ, in their orientation toward achievement.The data show that

the groups place different emphasis upon independence and achievement training in rearing children. As a result, achoevement is more characteristic of Greeks, Jews and white Protestants than of Italians, French-Canadians and Negroes. Furthermore, Jews, Greeks and Protestants are more likely to possess achievement values and higher educational and vocational aspirations than Italians and French Canadians. The values and educational aspirations of the Negroes are higher than expected. But the vocational aspirations of Negroes are the lowest. Social class and ethnicity interact in influencing motivation, values and aspirations, neither can predict an individual m score. Ethnic differences persist when social class is controlled, but some of the differences between ethnic groups in motivation, values and aspirations are probably also a function of their class composition.

Another study of Littig (1971) in which he attempted to study the motives of Negro-Americans who aspire to traditionally open and closed occupations. The conclusions of this paper are highly speculative. Whether the implications that strong achievement and/or power motives influence lower class members of minorities and that strong affiliation motivation influences middle class members of minorities to aspire to occupations which traditionally have been closed to them are limited to the negro in North America is an open question. Because

minorities exists in many national cultures. A reasonable
clear distinction was observed between the frequencies of
aspiration to occupations deemed to be traditionally open
or traditionally closed to Negroes, among students attend-
ing predominantly middle class Negro colleges. The
personality variables of achievement motivation, affilia-
tion motivation and power motivation were related to these
patterns of occupational aspiration middle class occupa-
tional conservatism was associated with weak affiliation
motivation while strong affiliation was associated with
occupational liberalism. The general configuration is that
occupational integration arises from different motivation-
al dispositions depending upon the predominant social
class context in which the Negro student is functioning.

Recent works by Anderson and Carlsson challenged
the widely held notion that education exercises a dominant
influence on intergenerational occupational mobility.
Both studies found that extended formal education markedly
enhances the probability of upward movement for sons
originating in lower status levels and that the lack of
extended formal education increases the probability of
downward movement for sons originating in higher status
levels. These reports stress the finding that much
mobility occurs beyond that attributable to the influence
of education. It is clear that status level of parents
affects mobility directly.

Harry J. Crockett, Jr. study on social class, education and motive to achieve in differential occupational mobility (1964) shows that the attainment of some college education is shown to enhance greatly the likelihood of upward mobility and reduce the likelihood of downward mobility, strength of achievement motive is shown to exert noticeable influence, on upward mobility especially among persons who lack any college training. An analysis of the interaction of factors associated with social class background, strength of achievement motive and level of education in the determination of mobility is offered, the analysis rationalises both the absence of expected relationships between strength of achievement motive and mobility among persons from upper middle class backgrounds, and the presence of such relationships among persons from the other social groups.

A concern of special interest to educations is the mobility of young people. This may be expressed in terms of "doing well", "achieving good grades", "achieving success" or "avoiding failure" and its unpleasant consequences". It is necessary to attempt to understand some of the forces that may have something to do with the lives of young adults who wish to improve their situation in comparison with the situation of their parents.

Mobility has its origin in the work of David

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McClelland on economic development, and of John W.Atkinson on risk-taking. These psychologists has been interested in the effects of certain psychological status - which they call 'motives'. In the early 1950's McClelland and his colleagues published a very influential book on the title of 'The Achievement Motive' (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark and Lowell, 1953). In this book they proposed that a combination of the techniques of experimental and clinical psychology could be developed and used to explore systematically the effects of unconscious motivational processes on human behaviour.

McClelland and his colleagues conceptualized a motive as an unconscious disposition that activated, directed and determined the intensity of an individual's behaviour. These ideas of Atkinson's about achievement motivation and risk-taking, and McClelland's idea about achievement motivation and society brought up an idea of the possibility that achievement motivation might be related to occupational aspirations, or aspirations for social mobility. The occupational mobility in the sense of a desire to attain an occupation that, by virtue of social tradition, has been closed to persons because of status ascription. The important question that crops up is whether mobility will be greater or less in the future? What is the future for persons with strong achievement motivation who come from working class backgrounds in a

system that no longer encourages this type of personality?

Crockett's data supply a hint of an answers to this question. His working class subjects with strong achievement motivation did not migrate occupationally out of the working class - they moved only to occupations at a higher level within it.

XI. PREVIOUS RESEARCHES IN FAMILY INFLUENCE

The family as a small group structure may also contain influences which further or hinder the development of strong achievement motivation. Birth order of the siblings, size of the family, and intactness of the home have been shown to be important. American first born children are more highly motivated (Atkinson & Miller, 1956), especially girls (Sampson, 1962). The reason may be that Western culture gives them more responsibility at an earlier period. In other cultures, such as India and Japan, it is rather the younger and the youngest, children who are more highly motivated (McClelland,1961).

The influence of family size on the achievement motivation of boys varies with social class (Rosen, 1961). In the upper classes, medium size families produce boys with the highest scores, whereas in the middle class, the smaller the family the larger the score. Large size of family appears to have an unfavourable effect in

classes I, II and V.

Broken homes or weak ties between parents, hinder
the development of high achievement motivation. Veroff, et
al. (1960) found this to be true for men in their represen-
tative sample of the United States population. Thomas
(1956) found similar unfavourable effects on academic and
vocational achievement among German children born after
World War II.

Relatively, fatherless societies or subcultures,
also produce children with low motivation (McClelland,
1961; Mischel, 1961; Nutall., 1964). Separation from the
father before adolescence, however, favours high achieve-
ment motivation in such an authoritarian, patriarchal
society as Turkey (Bradburn, 1963). Strodtbeck (1958) has
shown for American society that too much achievement-
related pressures by the father, which is found especially
in the upper social stratum, results in an unintended
effect. The son becomes dependent and develops low
achievement motivation.

McClelland, Atkinson and others suggested that
the origins of achievement motivation would be in the
stress placed on the training for independence in the
culture or family in which the child was brought up.

McClelland suggested that the age at which

independence training was given and the emotional accomp-
lishments of remand or punishment during that training
were important conditions for the development of an
achievement motive in childhood.

Dr. Winterbottom studied a group of 29 eight year
olds and their mothers in (1952). She pointed out that the
mothers of children high in ⁕ n Ach. make more demands
before the age of eight. They evaluated their children's
accomplishments higher and were more rewarding.

Rosen and D'Andrade designed to test two main
deductions drawn from the findings of McClelland and
Winterbottom. Firstly, achievement motivation is the result
of achievement training in which the parents set high goals
for their sons to attain. Independence training, in which
the parents indicate to the child that they expect him to
be self-reliant, and he is given freedom of action and
responsibility for success and failure. And sanctions,
rewards and punishments employed by parents to ensure
that their expectations are met and proper behaviour is
reinforced. Although each one of these contribution to
the development of achievement motivation, achievement
training is more important than independent training.

Secondly, differences in the mean level of
achievement motivation between social classes are in part

97   a function of the differential class emphasis upon independ-
ence and achievement training. Middle class parents are more
likely than lower class parents to stress self-reliance,
autonomy and achievement in problem solving situations,
particularly those involving standards of excellence.
Parents of a boy with high n Achievement tend to have
higher aspirations for him to do well at any given task and
they seem to have a higher regard for his competence at
problem solving. It was inferred from these results that
there is an important relationship between child training
by parents and their children's n Achievement.

According to Winterbottom's results, the mothers
of the children who are high in achievement motivation
differs from the mothers of those who are low in it. It is
of course a known fact that there are many differences
among different cultures respecting the age, methods and
the severity of independence training.

Tomotsu Hayashi and Kaonu Yamauchi (1969) study
on "The Relation of Children's Need for Achievement to
their Parents' Home Discipline in regard to independence
and mastery, found that the mothers of the low n Achieve-
ment children made more demands and restrictions in
their children's early days than the mothers of the
high n Achievement children. L. M. aimed to bring up
well their children from the parent's point of view

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of reputation rather than to discipline their children
to meet their own developmental requirements. L.M.evaluat-
ed their children higher than other children of the same
age. The LM are apt to **mingle**   strict and indulgent in $\angle$ their
attitudes and there was no consistency in their training.

The differences in training attitude between
American and Japanese mothers are determined by social and
cultural differences in these countries.

Tomotsu Hayashi, Natsuki Okamoto and Kaoru Habu
presented a study to determine what kind of relations
achievement motivation would have with intelligence,
achievement test, anxiety proneness and parents' attitude
to their children at home. They found that the mean IQ
did not differ between HA and LA groups. As a general
trend the female group showed higher anxiety levels than
the male groups. Mothers demanded their children's
independent attitude more than their fathers. And both
parents demanded the independent attitude more strongly
from male children.

Past studies about the relation between achieve-
ment motivation and grade point average have not always
been in agreement with each other. McClelland, Atkinson,
Clark and Lowell reported a significant positive
correlation between n Achievement test scores and grade
point average.

McClelland, Atkinson and others suggested that the origins of achievement motivation would be in the stress placed on the training for independence in the culture or family in which the child was brought up. The study of Asch showed that subjects high in n Achievement were much more independent than those low in n Achievement. According to the study of Winterbottom (1952) the children who showed high n Achievement scores had received independence training at home earlier than those who show low n Achievement scores. It was, therefore, assumed that n Achievement scores shown by children would reflect the degree in which parents demand their children to behave independently.

It is generally recognized that Japanese parents give their children less sufficient independence training at home, especially in their early years than American parents. Then again, parents of children who showed high n Achievement scores are anxious to let their children get a good occupation and a position in future. And they attach importance to their children's educational back-ground. They do not make their children receive education according in accordance with their abilities, but rather they strongly believe that a good higher school will promise a prospective good position. They think education to be a kind of investment. It was assumed that these parent's attitudes would be strongly reflected in their children's high n Achievement scores.

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XII. RESEARCHES IN THE PATTERN
OF HUMAN CONCERNS

As has frequently been pointed out, any attempt
to describe or analyse experience immediately alters that
experience. When a person tries to describe or analyse
experience or any aspect of it, he is functionally organiz-
ed quite differently than at the times when he is partici-
pating in a process of living and not describing or
analysing it. Experiences in the occasions of living are
dependent upon and characterized by processes involving,
for example, questions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction,
a sense of involvement or responsibility, a sense of
intent or aim, commitment through activity, a sense of
worry, frustration, or urgency, a sense of despair, hope
or faith, depending upon the particular pattern ef concerns
going on in a particular unique occasion of living.

Cantril (1965) has tried to give us a glimpse
of the various factors operating on the minds and behaviour
of people in different social, political and economic
situations.

The study of the United States was made in 1959.
In the United States, as in nearly all the countries
studied, the major hopes and **aspirations** all those
involved in maintaining and improving a decent, healthy
family life. A number of Americans seen to aspire to a

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resolution of psychological problems, such as those
concerned with religion, emotional stability and group
acceptance. Only half are worried about inadequate
standard of living. From the results it was clear that the
threats to the aspirations of Americans are health for
oneself or family and war.

Although Americans enjoy the highest standard of
living in the world, people in all socio-economic groups
still feel that both they and the country have a long way
to go yet in order to reach the top of the ladder of
life, which is perceived in terms of a healthy, happy
family life with increasing opportunities for their
children. Among all the population groups, it is the
Negroes who feel most frustrated, but there were clear
indications that they sensed progress was being made
toward their goal of equality. Aside from the overriding
hope that peace can be maintained and made secure, only a
small minority of Americans are concerned about other
national goals.

Study of West Germany was in 1957, when the
country was well into its phenomenal postwar economic
development was finding its political orientation and was
searching for its proper role in international affairs.
The West Germany people revealed rather self-centred
aspirations, including concern about their own health,

better housing and a higher standard of living. Only a small minority mentioned social values of any kind. A fear of war and its devastation quite naturally pervaded their lives. Only a few people were worried that reunification would not be achieved and the indication is that this was not a goal about which most West Germans felt intensely or for which they would care to sacrifice. The nation's total defeat in World War II seemed in 1957 to have dispelled any notions that West Germany should try to achieve great power status or assume the responsibility of exerting any influence of an ideological sort. People thought that West Germany as a whole was doing somewhat better than they were personally.

The study in Yugoslavia was done in 1962, before the new constitution was promulgated and before Tito was elected President for life. On the whole, the picture in Yugoslavia is one of a confident people who have a wide range of aspirations and who have set specific economic and social goals for the nation to achieve. Yugoslavs feel that the nation has made somewhat more progress than they have personally and that it will continue to do so in the next five years. They are most optimistic about the position they will achieve in life as individuals five years from now. The overwhelming majority are fearful of another war which would again bring devastation to their land.

The interviewing in Poland took place in 1962,
anyone who knows Poland or who has travelled about the
country will be aware of how the people were still
recovering from the experiences suffered in the last World
War II. The hopes of the Polish people center around their
aspirations for better living accommodations along with a
better standard of living and a good family life. They
are still haunted by the memory of war and in their
exposed position are fearful of another war. They feel
they have made some progress in the past five years and
will made even more in the five years ahead, but they
realized they have a long way to go to achieve the kind of
life they want.

The survey in Japan was made in 1962, but the
original material has been destroyed, no comparable data
revealing the way in which the Japanese people define their
own goals or those for the nation were available. But
whatever these goals were, the Japanese people feel that
both they and the nation have come about half way in
achieving them, and they are optimistic that the next five
years will carry them up another runs on the ladder of
life.

Brazil, the largest country in Latin America both
in area and population, is a lande of vast, undeveloped
resources. The study was done in late 1960 and early 1961,

104   after **Janio** Quadros was elected President in 1960 and
prior to his dramatic resignation from office.

The political and economic instability of Brazil
shows through in the concerns Brazilians have for their
country. Only a relatively small minority of Brazilians
are worried about war and still fewer about Communism. A
sizable minority are unable to place themselves as far as
their personal lives are concerned, and nearly half are
unable to rate the nation. However, people are optimistic
about the future both for themselves and the nation.
Apparently, the elite groups, who are most aware of
Brazil's problems, are also those who feel more than
others that these problems will be resolved. But the
picture is one of a people potentially ripe for political
reflection if they should lose confidence in their
Government to find remedies for their unstable and
depressed conditions.

The research in Nigeria was done in 1962 and 1963.
Tribal divisions with strong tribal loyalties are along
regional lines. The study revealed the Nigerians as a
people bubbling with aspirations both for themselves and
for the country as a whole. Inspite of the fact that it
was at a low stage of development, the people are quite
sophisticated with respect to their desire for cultural
as well as economic development. They are self-consciously
concerned with this development, which they see possible,

if they can attain unity among regional and tribal factions, and then raise the standard of living through technological development and provide themselves with better education and health facilities. Thus, they feel, they would have more chance for self-development and more of the amenities of life which they know people in other countries enjoy.

Comparatively, few Nigerians are burdened with fear of war. They feel that as individuals and as a nation have made great progress in attaining their goals.

The study in India was done in 1962, a few months before the Sino-Indian Border skirmishes with began on October 1962. A second and entirely comparable **survey** of India was conducted shortly after the border incident in order to study its effects.

India is a vast land with nearly a half billion people whose life expectancy is low, who are largely illiterate and whose income per capita is very poor. The result of the survey shows a picture of a people too depressed to have many ambitions for themselves, resigned to their situations and to what their religion tells them is their lot in this particular round of life. Aspirations for the nation are also at a relatively low pitch. While Indians felt the nation has made some progress during the past five years, they saw little improvement in their own

lot but remained sanguine about their own as well as the
nation's future.

The fact that Indians gave themselves and the
nation lower ratings after the border incident than they
had before it occurred indicates a feeling that things
were even worse than people had thought they were.

Samples from the Middle East

Here we are considering two nations in the Middle
East - Israel and Egypt - that have been and still are in
conflict with each other.

The study in Israel was done in 1961 and 1962.
The people in the new and independent nation of Israel are
see thing with aspirations for themselves. Many expressing
a wide variety of hopes to be realized in the home of the
Jews now have for themselves. Opportunities for children
tops the list of personal hopes, and peace with the Arabs
tōps the list of hopes for the nation. They are also
concerned for a better standard of living and for health.
They are also consciously dedicated to improving the
quality of the people and opportunities for self-develop-
ment. Israel as a nation feel uniformly confident that
if war can be avoided, they and the nation will continue
to move forward, advancing technologically, solving
economic and agricultural problems and controlling

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population growth.

In Kibbutzim the interview was in 1962. The whole
Kibbutzim picture was one of a highly self-conscious
microcosm whose members are intent upon preserving the
values around which their society was created. Among both
the older and younger generations, there was an eagerness
to protect and to develop the Kibbutzim microcosm within
the larger state and the larger world, which are increasing-
ly involved with material values and status strivings,
although many seemed to suspect they may be fighting a
losing battle.

The study in Egypt is regarded or a preliminary
pilot survey. It was conducted in 1960. This pilot study
reveals a people predominantly concerned with their
economic problems but with high confidence in the ability
of Nasser's regime to move them a considerable distance
ahead in future, as they feel it has in the past, toward
the goals they have set for themselves and for the nation.
Very few Egyptians appear to be aware of the country's
alarming population increase. The major threat to the
further development of Egyptian nationalism and the
consolidation of her rather recently attained independent
status is that from foreign aggression.

Three Caribbean Nations and the Phillippines

The survey in Cuba was carried out in 1960, about

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fifteen months after Cartro attained power. The Cuban
people were overwhelmingly enthusiastic about his regime
and what it promised, believing that in the near future
they would be nearer to their goals than they were five
years ago. All segments of the population expressed as a
major desire that tranquility be restored and the revolu-
tion be consolidated, few expressed any fear of Communism.

The study of the Dominican Republic 1962, gives a
glimpse into the state of mind of the people who have
recently gone through political turmoil. The former
President Juan Bosch has said, "My country is one of hope
and hunger". But while it was shown that everyone tended to
be optimistic about themselves and the country, still the
concerns people express were clearly those revolving
around their own distress, and it was those already at the
top who were most optimistic.

The study in Panama was done in 1962. Panama is
dominated by a few wealthy families who have demonstrated
little inclination to use their positions to improve the
lot of the people. Though Panamanians are not as desperate
as people in the Dominican Republic, they still/have made
little progress during the past few years. They express a
pattern of preoccupations for themselves and the nations ±
that calls for strong leadership and basic reforms if
their optimism about the future is to be fulfilled at all.

.09   Panamanians have a low opinion of Communists and Communism, but many are worried about it, especially the elite who are more sensitive to the problems facing the country than are the poor and uneducated masses of the population.

     The study of the Phillippines was made in 1959, a low point in Phillippine political and social life. Their concerns are with those aspects of living that very immediately affect them and their families. They are definitely not satisfied with their lot, but at the time of the study they were optimistic about the future both for themselves and for the nation.

     Phillippines have demonstrated to themselves and the world that they have maintained political stability since gaining independence, and this stability is rather firmly rooted in a viable democratic system which has suffered no coups. At the time of the study, there was no threat of Communism, no widespread Communist infiltration even though the Chinese minority did represent a potential threat if it should come under Red China.

     This review of the interplay of personal aspirations and worries with the hopes and fears the same people have for their country points to certain conclusions. Among peoples whose countries have recently experienced radical political changes, there is high personal

110   involvement with national problems, including great
       political concerns. Among people who are in the process of
       achieving national independence, when they are still under-
       developed economically (i.e. Nigeria) there is also high
       personal involvement in national affairs. Personal hopes
       are strongly rooted in the sense of accomplishment in the
       past. Among people whose nation achieved independence some
       years ago but still hardly aware of the problems connected
       with the economic and social development (i.e. India),
       there is an unusually high proportion of people who are
       unable to assign either themselves or their nation a rating
       on the ladder of life. There is little personal involvement
       with national problems. Among people who have been united
       into a nation for a long period, but still remain backward
       in their economic and social development (i.e. Brazil)
       there is little personal involvement in national problems
       of any kind. Among people who have recently become united
       into an independent state after centuries of division,
       and who have strong popular centralized leadership (i.e.
       Yugoslavia) there is high personal involvement with
       respect to the economic and social problems facing the
       country. Personal and national hopes are a source of
       anticipation of the future, while personal worries are not
       intense enough to be a source of dissatisfaction. Among a
       people of a newly created nation which have brought
       together people from many lands who share a religious

11   conviction (i.e. Isreal) there is a sense of considerable
personal involvement in national affairs. In the world's
most economically advanced nation whose economic and
social advances are still proceeding space and where people
have enjoyed democratic political stability for a hundred
years (i.e. United States) there is relatively little
personal involvement in the national arena except in the
international area. The worries most people have are not
intense enough to be sources of dissatisfaction with the
present or of anxiety about the future, and the fears
expressed for the nation are not based on a sense of lack
of past accomplishment. Among people who have recently
experienced the ravages of war (i.e. Yugoslavia, West
Germany, Isreal, the Phillippines) or (as with Americans)
who know the consequences for them of another war in which
they might be a major belligerent, there is more personal
involvement in the problems the nation faces in the inter-
national arena of world affairs and the maintenance of
peace. On the other hand, among people who have neither
directly suffered from recent war on their territory or
not involved as major protogonists in any potential East-
West conflict (i.e. India, Nigeria, Brazil) there is very
little personal interest in world affairs as these affect
their countries. People who have at least the equivalent of
some secondary education demonstrate a greater interest in
certain aspects of their nation's affairs, than those less

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educated. Education consistently affects the concern a
person has in the social problems confronting the nation
more than does the economic status, age or whether one
lived in the city or country.

There does not seem to be any progressively greater
concern for the nation's problems with the degree of higher
education. The awakening to national affairs apparently
occurs at the secondary level and is not deepened of
broadened by higher education within the sample as a whole.

The data confirmed the truth of Aristotle's
observation that happiness comes from "the exercise of
vital powers along lines of excellence in a life affording
them scope".

An apparent characteristic of man is never to be
satisfied, always to want to experience some new value
satisfactions, as well as to protect those he always
enjoys.

The findings are systematically considered to
answer the general question: what are the stages of the
development of the concerns of large groups of people
living in the modern nation state? It has become abundant-
ly clear that the concerns of the people are patterned
largely according to the phases of development they are
in. The people in India who were found to be still unaware

.13   of their problems; who were too depressed to have many
ambitions for themselves, who were unaware too of the
possibilities of action at the national level to improve
their welfare, whose passivity derives in large part from
an ancient and widespread fatalism which still makes it
possible for millions upon millions of Indians to accept
their wretched lot. In the first phase then, one sees a
people to tend to lack confidence in their Government to
assist them in resolving their problems, whose aspirations
for their nation are low, who regard as luxuries what those
in more aware and developed societies regard as primary
requirements, such as good health. In short, we see a
people not yet psychologically frustrated or mobilized and
not yet on the move from their backward subject status,
to an active participant status in the variety of benefits
and opportunities the modern world a offers and the
responsibilities and self-disciplines it requires. This is
the portrait of the great majority of Indian people and does
not in any sense deny the importance for India's future
development of the nucleus of dedicated and educated
Indians, of advanced village leaders and of sophisticated
industrial workers.

The people in a number of other countries studied
appears to be in the phase of development, Many of them
released from colonial status or recently formed into new

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national groups reveal their sense of liberation, of freedom from old restrants, of road blocks remoned. They are eager to push ahead faster. "It is important that one feels strong and recognize the sources of his strength" observed E.B. White. The attainment of such a psychological state of affairs can develop only after they have experienced the satisfaction that comes when some actions they have voluntarily participated confirms their assumptions and bring them closer to their goals.

As such concerns become interiorised within the individual, he becomes committed to attain his goals. His better education, whether formal or informal, increases his sensivity to different alternatives he perceives are available to him or that he himself may devise. He presses for improvement and reform within the system. These studies have illustrated the well known fact that if improvement and reforms are not sooner or later accommodated, impatience and frustration are likely to turn into revolt by the intellectual elite against the system itself.

For the vast majority of people's hopes and fears were found to revolve around the complex of well being rather simply defined in terms of a decent standard of living, a more secure family life with opportunities for children.

Man needs a sense of both physical and

psychological security to protect gains already made and
to assure a beachhead from which further advances may be
staged. People invariably become embittered if they **nurse**
a dream for a long time with no signs of it becoming a
reality. Man craves sufficient order and certainty in his
life to enable him to judge what will or will not occur
if he does or does not act in certain ways. People want
sufficient form and pattern in life to be sure that
satisfactions already enjoyed will be repeatable and will.
provide a secure spring-board for take-offs in new
directions.

Alfred North Whitehead statement that "the
essence of life is to be found in the frustrations of
established order" and that "the art of progress is to
presence order amid change, and to preserve change amid
order", expresses the point that human beings continuous-
ly seek to enlarge the range and to enrich the quality
of their satisfactions. Human behaviour cannot be under-
stood, but only caricatured. Human beings are creatures of
hope and are not genetically designed to resign themselves.
Man seems continually to hope that the world he encounters
will correspond more and more to his vision of it as he
acts within it to carry out his purposes, while the vision
itself continuously unfolds in an irreversible direction.
The whole process is never ending. It is characteristic of

man in his ongoing experience to ask himself "Where do I
go from here"? Most of the time, most people who are
plugged into the changing world around them are future
oriented in their concerns. The human being is a partici-
pant in and producer of his own value satisfactions.
Maximum freedom is a necessary condition if a highly
developed individual is to obtain maximum value satis-
faction. For freedom clearly involves a learning of respon-
sibility and an ability to take advantage of it wisely.
A human being wants to know he is valued by others and
that others will show that his own behaviour and its
consequences make some sort of difference to them in ways
that give him a sense of satisfaction. When this occurs,
not only is a person's sense of identity confirmed, but
he also experiences a sense of personal worth and self-
respect.

People want some anchoring points, some certain-
ties and faith that will serve as a beacon light to guide
them, or a balm to assuage them during the inevitable
frustrations and anxieties living engenders. Human beings
want a sense of surety and confidence that the society of
which they are a part holds out a fair degree of hope
that their aspirations will be fulfilled.

As indicated in the first chapter, the investiga-
tor found these variables as quite genuine for the study

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of tribal youth in Meghalaya. The previous researches
indicate that the variables have been explored but then a
study should be made of the non-tribal youth and tribal
youth in terms of their achievement motive, fear of failure,
occupational aspiration, concerns for the self and one's
own country, and family influences. The previous research-
es in these variables indicate to us that the each variable
has its effects on a given community. As for the youth -
tribal and non-tribal - several questions crop up. Do the
tribals have some concern for the country as the non-
tribals? What amount of achievement motivation have they
got as compared to the various populations of the world?
What is their level of concern in comparisons to different
countries? What are the family influence pattern and how
is it related to n Ach? What are occupational aspirations
of tribals and non-tribals? How are these variables
related to each other? The present investigator tries
to find an answer to these questions. The details about
the problem, definitions and procedure is described in the
next chapter.